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VOL. XI OCTOBER, 1930 No. 4

TYLER, WEBSTER AND THE OREGON QUESTION

The Oregon Question was prominently before the American people in the early 1840s, when John Tyler was President, and Daniel Webster was Secretary of State. Over two decades later, when both these prominent men had died, a story began to appear in the papers to the effect that they in the conduct of our foreign affairs were about to relinquish our claim to Oregon and leave England in full possession. It was represented that they had permitted themselves to be deceived by false statements of officials of the Hudson Bay Company, who controlled the Oregon fur trade, and were therefore in ignorance of the value of this region. It was further alleged that Webster, whose ambition to be President was well known, had a selfish interest in the transaction, and that in order to increase his popularity in New England he was willing to exchange all of Oregon for fishing privileges off Newfoundland. And Oregon at that time meant all the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific included between the parallels of 42° and 54°40′ north latitude, an area of over 450,000 square miles.

At the critical moment in March 1843, so the story goes, Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary who had resided in Oregon since 1836 and who had been aroused by the British plans to secure that territory, appeared in Washington after a five month's journey on horseback through the snows of the mountains and the blizzards of the plains, secured interviews with the President and Secretary of State, plead the cause of Oregon, showed them the value of what they were about to hand over to Great Britain, and received a promise that they would take no further steps until he proved that he could successfully lead back with him a com-

pany of immigrants with their stock and wagons. And so when he reached home that autumn with his company of about a thousand men, women and children, Oregon was won!

In support of this story a body of evidence has been accumulated, based largely upon memory and hearsay, much being at second or third hand. If that were all the evidence obtainable, or if there were no evidence of a more substantial character, a student of history might accept the story as one, not proved to be sure but, possibly true. But there is other and different evidence. When such outstanding men as Tyler, Webster, Edward Everett, minister to Great Britain, to mention no others, were engaged in attempts to solve this problem, it is inconceivable that records essential to an understanding of the case should be lacking. And if such contemporary records are produced, they merit the careful attention of all those who not only love their country, but are concerned about the integrity of their country's history.

It is the purpose of this paper to assemble some of the direct evidence as to the views and purposes of Tyler and Webster with regard to Oregon. In the attempt to make a national hero out of Marcus Whitman it is unfair to represent the President as asleep at his post, or his Secretary of State as the dupe of the Hudson Bay Company, or even as the villain of the plot in attempting to barter away his country's heritage for his own personal gain, without giving these men an opportunity to testify for themselves. This they can do, although their public career ended three-quarters of a century ago, through the record still preserved of what they said and did at the time when the Oregon Question was entrusted to their hands.

John Tyler became President of the United States in May 1841 upon the death of President Harrison. He was a man of strong convictions and independent judgment. His messages to Congress reveal careful study of the various problems which as chief executive he was obliged to face. In his first message to Congress, called to meet in special session June 1, 1841, he said while referring to our growth from a people of 3,000,000 at the breaking out of the Revolution to more than 17,000,000 at that time: "The old states contain a territory sufficient in itself to maintain a population of additional millions, and the most populous of the new states may even yet be regarded as but partially settled, while the

new lands on this side of the Rocky Mountains, to say nothing of the immense region which stretches from the base of those mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River, about 770,000,000 acres, ceded and unceded, still remain to be brought into market. . . . No motive exists for foreign conquest; we desire but to reclaim our almost illimitable wildernesses, and to introduce into their depths the lights of civilization."[1]

In his annual message, December 7, 1841, he again referred to the Oregon Territory, and made a specific recommendation: "I recommend particularly to your consideration that portion of the Secretary's [Secretary of War] report which proposes the establishment of a chain of military posts from Council Bluffs to some point on the Pacific Ocean within our limits. The benefit thereby destined to accrue to our citizens engaged in the fur trade over that wilderness region, added to the importance of cultivating friendly relations with savage tribes inhabiting it, and at the same time of giving protection to our frontier settlements and of establishing the means of safe intercourse between the American settlements at the mouth of the Columbia River and those on this side of the Rocky Mountains, would seem to suggest the importance of carrying into effect the recommendations upon this head with as little delay as may be possible."[2]

Since Congress did not act on this recommendation, Tyler repeated it in his next annual message, December 1842: "The suggestions in reference to the establishment of means of communication with our territories on the Pacific and to the surveys so essential to a knowledge of the resources of the intermediate country are entitled to the most favorable consideration. While I would propose nothing inconsistent with friendly negotiations to settle the extent of our claims in that region, yet a prudent forecast points out the necessity of such measures as may enable us to maintain our rights."[3] July 1, 1842, when Webster and Ashburton were engaged in negotiations aiming to settle various matters in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, the President sent the following communication to the Senate: "In pursuance of the suggestions contained in the accompanying letter from the Secretary of the Navy and of my own convictions

[1]Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 4: 41–42.
[2]Op. cit., 4:87–88. [3]Op. cit., 4: 202.

of their propriety, I transmit to the Senate the report made by Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the exploring expedition, relative to the Oregon Territory. Having due regard to the negotiations now pending between this Government and the Government of Great Britain through its special envoy, I have thought it proper to communicate the report confidentially to the Senate."[4] Wilkes, sent out in 1838 on an exploring expedition to the South Seas, had in 1841 spent some time in the valley of the Columbia and its tributary from the south, the Willamette, where a considerable number of Americans were already settled. His report gave much first hand information about the country.

On August 11, 1842, the President sent the Webster-Ashburton Treaty to the Senate for its consideration. Among other things this treaty settled all boundary disputes between the United States and Canada as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Many had hoped that the line would be agreed upon as far as the Pacific, and that in consequence the Oregon Question would be settled. However, this happy result had not been attained. He wrote: "After sundry informal communications with the British minister upon the subject of the claims of the two countries to territory west of the Rocky Mountains, so little probability was found to exist of coming to any agreement on that subject at present that it was not thought expedient to make it one of the subjects of formal negotiation to be entered upon between this Government and the British Minister as part of his duties under his special mission."[5]

In his second annual message, December 6, 1842, after the Webster-Ashburton Treaty had been ratified, the President congratulated the country on the amicable adjustment of most of the irritating controversies with Great Britain. "It would have furnished additional cause for congratulation if the treaty could have embraced all subjects calculated in future to lead to a misunderstanding between the two Governments. The Territory of the United States, commonly called the Oregon Territory, lying on the Pacific Ocean north of the forty-second degree of latitude, to a portion of which Great Britain lays claim, begins to attract the attention of our fellow citizens, and the tide of population which has reclaimed what was so lately an unbroken wilderness in more contiguous regions is preparing to flow over these vast districts

[4]Op. cit., 4: 159–60. [5]Op. cit., 4: 166.

which stretch from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. In advance to the acquirement of individual rights to these lands sound policy dictates that every effort should be resorted to by the two Governments to settle their respective claims. It became manifest at an early hour of the late negotiations that any attempt for the time being satisfactorily to determine those rights would lead to a protracted discussion which might embrace in its failure other more pressing matters, and the Executive did not regard it as proper to waive all the advantages of an honorable adjustment of other difficulties of great magnitude and importance because this, not being immediately pressing, stood in the way. Although the difficulty referred to may not for several years involve the peace of the two countries, yet I shall not delay to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement."[6]

These statements of the President were unsatisfactory to the champions of Oregon in the Senate. On December 22, a resolution was passed asking the President to inform the Senate of the nature and extent of the informal negotiations referred to, and of the reasons which prevented any agreement at that time. In reply Tyler referred to his previous message, spoke of "measures that had been already taken," and stated that he did not "deem it consistent with the public interest to make any communiciation on the subject."[7] On January 12, 1843, Benton of Missouri complained that whereas every previous administration had freely discussed in the face of the world every negotiation, every proposition to or by our Government, now for the first time the Executive had stated that it was incompatible with the interests of the country to give such information. He implied that concessions had been offered to Great Britain which the administration did not wish the people to know about.[8] It should be noted that these were the insinuations of a strong opponent of the President who was trying to make political capital out of the situation. Six days later when the question again came before the Senate, Choate of Massachusetts, who occupied the seat vacated by Webster when he became Secretary of State, replied to Benton. He wished "to remove an erroneous impression which he conceived as calculated to do great injustice to a distinguished man [Mr. Webster]

[6]Op. cit., 4: 196. [7]Op. cit., 4: 210–11. [8]*Congressional Globe*, 12:154.

who could not there defend himself." He referred to conclusions which had been drawn that the Secretary of State had made propositions "which the Administration was ashamed or afraid to avow; that in fact the rumor must be correct which had got abroad that a proposition had been made or entertained by the Secretary, to settle down on the Columbia River as the boundary line. Now he was glad to have it in his power to undeceive the Senator, and to assure him, which he did from authority—for he had been requested by the Secretary himself to do it for him— that he never made or entertained a proposition to admit of any line south of the 49th parallel of latitude as a negotiable boundary to the territory of the United States."[9] This denial he repeated in another speech on February 3rd.[10]

Fortunately at the present time we are not left to guess blindly between what might be considered the opposing statements of two politicians. The United States government printed in 1872 the instructions which the British government gave to Lord Ashburton in 1842 relative to the Oregon boundary. "Your Lordship may, therefore, propose to the Government of the United States, as a fair and equitable adjustment of their respective claims, a line of boundary commencing at the mouth of the Columbia River, thence by a line drawn along the middle of that river to its point of confluence with the Great Snake River; thence by a line drawn in a northerly direction along the said mountains until it strikes the 49th parallel of latitude." However, if he could not secure this line he was to propose the line of the 49th parallel westward to the great northeasternmost branch of the Columbia, which it was to follow to the Ocean. "But Your Lordship will reject the proposal formerly made by the American Government, in case it should be repeated, of following the 49th parallel of latitude from the Rocky Mountains to the Ocean, as the boundary of the territories of the two States."[11]

From these instructions it can be seen that Great Britain refused to settle the Oregon boundary in 1842 unless she could obtain part or all of the north bank of the Columbia River. On the

[9] *Same*, 12: 171–2.

[10] *Same*, 12, Appendix: 222–9.

[11] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, 5: 218–9, Berlin Arbitration, Government Printing Office, 1872.

other hand, Webster would accept no line south of the 49th parallel. Deadlocked as they were on this question, the negotiators wisely turned to the consideration of the northeast boundary and other more pressing subjects of dispute. It can be seen further that when Whitman made his journey east in 1842–43 the Oregon Territory as a whole was not in danger of being lost; that only a small portion of it, less than 45,000 square miles north and west of the Columbia, was under dispute; and that even in regard to this small portion of Oregon Territory our Government was unwilling to make any concession. Such was the state of affairs when Whitman is said to have set out for Washington to arouse an ignorant Tyler, and outwit a selfish Webster!

Acts as well as words may furnish testimony as to the attitude of the President toward the Oregon Question. In the early part of 1842 Tyler appointed Dr. Elijah White, Indian Agent for Oregon Territory. He was a native of Tompkins county, New York, and had spent some time in Oregon in missionary work. Surely this appointment was most unnecessary, and involved needless expense, if we were about to relinquish our claims to that region in favor of Great Britain. This act of the President was in effect a direct notice to the British Government that we proposed to look out for our own interests in Oregon.[12]

Webster's attitude toward Oregon has necessarily been indicated in the previous discussion, since he was responsible to the President in the conduct of the negotiations. But it may be worth while to examine some of the references found in his own writings and speeches. After the ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, in October and again in November 1842, the British Foreign Minister expressed a strong desire that the American Government should send to our minister in London, Edward Everett, instructions to re-open the Oregon Question with a view to its final settlement.[13] By this time Webster had begun to pay attention to the possibility of acquiring California from Mexico. The South was eager to annex the Republic of Texas, even at the risk of a war with Mexico. Expansion was in the air. Webster, the northern

[12]E. White, *Ten Years in Oregon*, compiled by Miss A. J. Allen, Ithaca, 1853. See also E. White, *A Concise View of Oregon Territory*, published in 1846.

[13]*Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, 5, No. 13, 14, Government Printing Office, 1872.

Whig, was not enthusiastic about adding Texas with its vast territory suitable for slave labor, and promising to increase still further the strength of the Democratic party in the national Congress, but he valued California with its splendid harbor of San Francisco even more than Oregon. To secure California we must pay the price either in cash or in territory. For a consideration, the help of Great Britain might be secured, especially since her citizens held large claims against the bankrupt government of Mexico, and were becoming fearful that they would never obtain satisfaction. If we offered her concessions along the Columbia River, might not her help in this transaction be secured? It was a tangled situation, worthy of a great diplomat. And domestic politics entered into the situation; a presidential election was approaching. If Tyler could at one stroke establish our title to Oregon, purchase California, and admit Texas, all without a war, he might make a strong appeal to his countrymen for a re-election.[14]

Under these circumstances the letters which Webster wrote to Everett at London are important, and should be studied in their entirety. On November 28, 1842, he discussed the possibility of a compromise. "A division of this territory might naturally be suggested, and at first blush the Columbia River might seem to present itself as a convenient line of division. But there are great peculiarities about this river. It affords very small accommodations to commerce in comparison with its size or volume of water. For nine months in the year the navigation of its mouth is impracticable, and for the rest quite uncertain and inconvenient. If we should consent to be limited by the river on the north, we shall not have one tolerable harbor on the coast. . . . It has been suggested that the line of the boundary might begin on the sea, or the entrance of the Straits of St. Juan de Fuca, follow up these Straits, give us a harbor at the southwest corner of these inland waters, and then continue south, striking the river below Vancouver, and then follow the river to its intersection with the 49th degree of latitude north. . . . I describe this without reference to the maps and without having them before me; but you will understand the general idea." He spoke also of the desirability of an adjustment of the

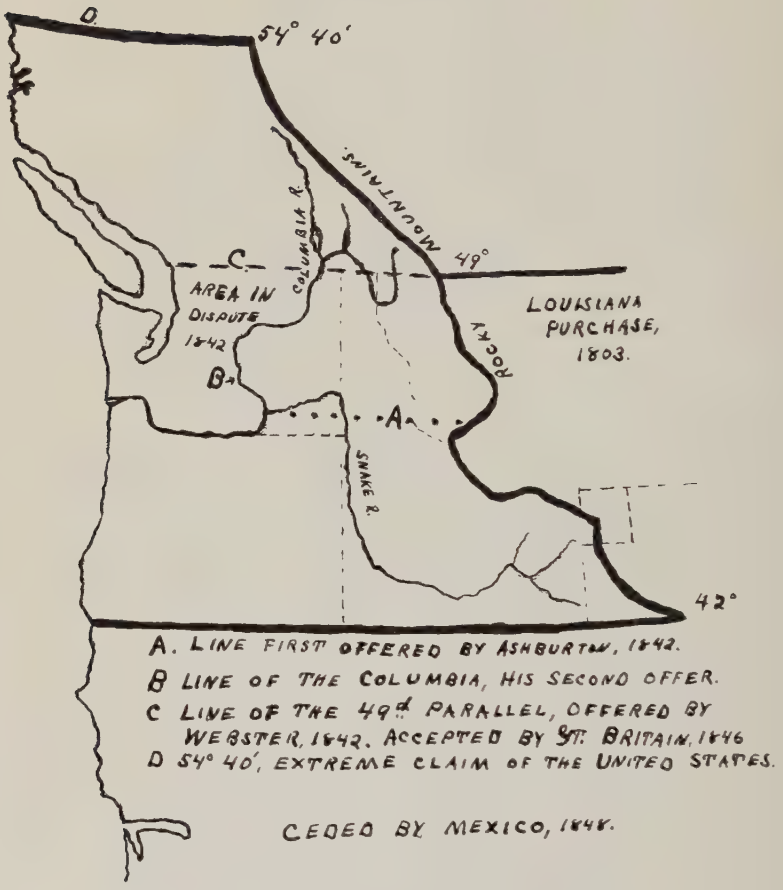
[14]Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, 2: 261 and elsewhere.

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN

"No picture of Dr. Whitman is in existence. The above portrait is made from the basis of a photograph of Rev. Marcus Whitman Montgomery, who resembled Dr. Whitman very closely. Changes have been made under the supervision of the family, who now pronounce this a very correct likeness."

(*From O. W. Nixon, How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon, p. 72*)

OREGON TERRITORY, 1842.



A. LINE FIRST OFFERED BY ASHBURTON, 1842.
B LINE OF THE COLUMBIA, HIS SECOND OFFER.
C LINE OF THE 49th PARALLEL, OFFERED BY WEBSTER, 1842. ACCEPTED BY GT. BRITAIN, 1846
D 54° 40', EXTREME CLAIM OF THE UNITED STATES.

CEDED BY MEXICO, 1848.

navigation laws to aid us in our efforts to trade with Great Britain and the West Indies, and changes in the tariff laws.[15]

In another letter dated January 29, 1843, he spoke of the agitation in Congress over the Oregon Question—the Congress which the Whitman theory assumes to be ignorant and apathetic toward it. After two months of further consideration, since his previous letter, he made a tentative tripartite proposal. 1. That Mexico be induced to cede Upper California to the United States at a price to be agreed upon. 2. That part of this money be paid to citizens of the United States having claims against Mexico, the other part to be paid to citizens of England who have similar claims, or who hold bonds of that country. 3. "The Oregon frontier to run pretty much as I mentioned to you." "These are only thoughts not yet shaped into opinions." "My own opinion of the value of that whole country (Oregon) is by no means as high as that of many others. It is a poor country in comparison with the United States or even with California. And if our most mischievous spirit of party could be laid, I have no doubt a proper adjustment of all disputes respecting the territory might readily be effected." He suggested an exchange of unofficial opinions with the English Government. Webster made no suggestion to Everett relative to the question of Texas, in which Tyler was so greatly interested. These letters were confidential, and the propositions they contained are tentative and informal. No negotiations on the bases suggested in them were ever entered upon, the British Government being unwilling to consider such diverse subjects together. Consequently Webster was able to say after his return to the Senate: "The Government of the United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine. . . . . and it never will."[16]

By referring to the map it will be noted that if Webster's suggestion had been incorporated into a final treaty, we would have paid only some thirty thousand square miles of the present state of Washington, a region mostly occupied by the Cascade Mountains, as the purchase price for California. Our Government ultimately paid more than $18,000,000 when we annexed California and New Mexico at the close of the Mexican War. It may be further noted that in these letters there is no hint of "cod fish-

[15]Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, 18: 153 ff.

[16]Webster, *Works*. 5: 72.

eries" as the basis of concessions in the Northwest. For political reasons Webster soon retired from the State department and the Oregon question was left to others. But in 1845 he was back in the Senate, and in the rash excitement of the "54–40 or fight" period, used his influence for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the 49th parallel, which he believed was a reasonable compromise of the conflicting claims of the two countries.

Three southern men followed Webster as Secretary of State, within a year's time. They were in full sympathy with Tyler's ambition to annex Texas, and for a time the Oregon Question tended to drop into the background. The British government became uneasy over the delay. In four separate dispatches the British Minister in Washington informed his government that Secretary of State Calhoun had done nothing about the matter.[17]

Tyler in his message to Congress, December 1843, said: "The United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific and embraced within 42° and 54° 40′ of north latitude." The matter had again been brought to the attention of the British government, and "while nothing will be done to compromit the rights and honor of the United States, every proper expedient will be resorted to" to bring the negotiations "to a speedy and happy termination."[18]

The problem of the annexation of Texas largely occupied his mind during the following year. In his last annual message, December 1844, he informed Congress that the Oregon negotiations were still pending.[19] At the end of the short session he retired to private life. Texas had been annexed; he had maintained our rights in Oregon, but had left the settlement of the boundary to the Polk administration.

A fair and candid examination of the record left by Tyler and Webster in the conduct of negotiations concerning the northwest boundary leads inevitably to the conclusion that our interests were in safe hands. While they did not belong to the group of extremists who placed an extravagant value on Oregon, they steadily and consistently maintained our rights as based on discovery, exploration and treaty. In order to settle the question

[17] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1846. Numbers 12, 13, 14, 15.
[18] Richardson, 4: 258.
[19] Richardson, 4: 337.

before it should become dangerous, and at the same time to secure California which he considered far more valuable, Webster, as we have seen, was inclined at one time to sacrifice a part of northwestern Washington. But even then he would retain its most valuable asset, a seaport on Puget Sound, along with the coast line of the Pacific, and both sides of the mouth of the Columbia. What Tyler might have been willing to yield in Oregon, if by so doing he could have furthered his project of annexing territory desired by the South, does not appear. But he became so preoccupied with the problem of Texas, with its partisan and sectional aspects, that he allowed the Oregon Question to drag along unsettled, to the evident dissatisfaction of Great Britain, who had hoped for a settlement favorable to her interests.

It has been shown by official records that Oregon was not in any danger of being lost to our country. It follows, therefore, that it could not have been "saved" by any one. A study of the contemporary records of the Northwest, of the debates in Congress, and of the state of public opinion in the United States, would serve to confirm this conclusion. In the light of these contemporary records the statements made by the group of writers who have endeavored to establish the Whitman-Saved-Oregon theory as a part of American history have a strange sound.

Referring to the supposed influence of Gov. Simpson upon our government, Gray[20] wrote: "All the influence a long established and powerful monopoly, backed by the grasping disposition of the English Government, can command is brought to bear upon the question of the Northwestern boundary. The executive of the American Republic is about ready to give up the country as of little value to the nation. Just at this time, in the dead of winter," etc., Whitman appeared as a rescuer.

"He [Webster] gave full credit to Dr. Whitman for all this in a remark to a legal gentleman and personal friend. 'It is safe to assert that our country owes it to Dr. Whitman and his associate missionaries that all the country west of the Rocky Mountains and south as far as the Columbia River is not now owned by Great Britain and held by the Hudson Bay Co.' "[21] A later writer[22] tells us that "an eminent legal gentleman" told "E. D. F." or "E. D.

[20]Gray, *History of Oregon*, 1870, p. 315.
[21]Barrows, *Oregon*, 1883, p. 225.
[22]Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 197.

B." (clipping was mutilated somewhat) that Webster said the words quoted above. This indicates that it is evidence at third hand, while we have no hint as to the indentity of either the eminent legal gentleman or of E. D. F.

"In our day when the great northwestern part of our country with its vast resources is so well known. . . . it seems almost incredible that a man like Daniel Webster was willing to believe it a 'sandy desert.' That this great country which now comprises the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho is not today part of the British possession is largely due to the unselfish exertions of Dr. Marcus Whitman. . . . The statesmen of this period were ignorant on the question of the great value of the territory in dispute. . . All this ignorance was the result of the teachings of the Hudson Bay Co."[23] Later in the chapter is an account of Whitman's supposed interview with Webster in which he told the Secretary "that it would be better to barter all New England for Newfoundland rather than part with Oregon." It is difficult to understand how the Oregon Question came to be included in these *Personal Recollections*, as General Miles was a boy of four years when Whitman came east, and was seven when the question was finally settled.

Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus[24] quotes from a speech which Webster is alleged to have delivered in the Senate: "What do we want with the vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? . . . I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Coast one inch nearer to Boston than it is now." Very imaginative though not exactly in the Websterian style, and so opposed to the views held consistently by Webster! And this "quotation" cannot be found in any of Webster's speeches.

As an example of the variations of this story which keep appearing in the press, the following quotations are taken from an article by "a popular columnist" in the Buffalo *Courier Express* and reprinted in the Yates County *Chronicle-Express*, November 28, 1929. "It [Oregon] was of such small value in the eyes of Washington statesmen that Daniel Webster, Secretary of State at

[23]General Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 1896, p. 384–88.

[24]Nixon, *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, 1895, introduction, p. 11.

the time, in the cabinet of President John Tyler, was ready to give it away in any kind of a deal." Webster said to Whitman: "You are too late, Doctor, Oregon is already bargained away to England." "Finally Webster admitted no treaties had been signed relative to Oregon. He was expressing his personal opinions. He said the ultimate decision rested with President Tyler, who could sign Oregon away, or refuse to do so." This is surely a most singular statement of the powers of the chief executive under the American system of government.

Whitman cannot be blamed for the extravagances and errors of those who have sought to make him a national hero. The missionaries and pioneers, following the discoverers and explorers, played an indispensable part in securing that region for our country, and for this they should receive all due credit. But whatever part may be claimed for Whitman individually cannot, in the light of the contemporary record, be at the expense of belittling and discrediting the work of John Tyler and Daniel Webster.

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WAR SCARE AND POLITICS IN 1794

On April 16, 1794, Abraham Hardenbergh of New York City wrote the appended letter to his brother, John Leonard Hardenbergh, who had shortly before removed to Aurelius on the frontiers of New York State.

John Leonard Hardenburgh was born in Rosendale, Ulster county, New York, in 1746. The family had emigrated from Holland to New Amsterdam in the second quarter of the 17th century. In 1706, Johannes Hardenbergh, grandfather of Abraham and John L. Hardenbergh took up a quantity of land in the Shawangunk region, settling on Rondout Creek, in Rosendale, Ulster county.[1]

With the opening of the American Revolution, John L. Hardenbergh enlisted and became a lieutenant in the Second New York Regiment of the Line,[2] and fought in all of the principal engagements in which that organization participated. In the spring of 1779, when Sullivan's expedition was being organized for an offensive against the New York Indians, the Second New York was one of the units selected for that service. John L. Hardenbergh, it seems, was lastingly impressed with the beauty and fertility of western New York. With the close of the Revolution, he resigned his commission and returned to his home in Ulster County.[3]

By 1789,[4] the Indian title to most of the lands in New York state had been quieted and John Hardenbergh and Moses De Witt were employed to survey the military bounty lands of 1,680,000 acres—comprising the present counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Cortland, and portions of Oswego, Tompkins, Wayne and Schuyler. The time spent surveying more than confirmed his

[1]Hawley, Charles (ed.) *The Journal of Lieut. John L. Hardenburgh*, Auburn, 1879, 7–8. The original deed and other papers are in the possession of Prof. Edward H. Waldo, Urbana, Ill.

[2]*Ibid.*, 9. *State Archives* (*Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, v. 15), p. 134, 193, 257, 259.

[3]*Ibid.*, 9–14, 23–59.

[4]As early as 1788 cessions were being made by the Indians. In that year lands lying along the Genesee River were ceded to Oliver Phelps and Nathianel Gorham of Massachusetts. (*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 210).

earlier impressions of the country and he was on the alert to select a promising piece of land for himself. He acquired his plot on the present site of Auburn, which he had already designated on his survey map as a good mill site.[5] After completing the survey, he returned to Ulster County and married Maria Bevier (1792)[6] and shortly thereafter he returned alone to his lands in the upper part of the state to prepare a home. During his absence, his wife died, leaving an infant daughter. In 1796, he married Martina Brinkerhoff.[7]

Auburn, then Aurelius, at the time of Hardenbergh's move thither, was quite near the westernmost frontier of New York State—the paradise of the land speculator. Many, not content with obtaining lands in regions thrown open to settlement, were invading those still occupied by the Indians; others, finding the Indian reluctant to part with his lands, ostensibly leased them from him and then turned about and made fraudulent sales to incoming settlers who purchased in good faith.[8] The Hardenberghs were deeply immersed in land speculation, but lands were not moving with the expected celerity in 1794.[9] With the prospect of war with Great Britain, the frontier was in a state of nervous apprehension and Israel Chapin, the Indian Agent, was reporting that

> This part of the country, being the frontier of the State of New York, feels very much alarmed at the present appearance of war. Destitute of arms and ammunition, the scattered inhabitants of this remote wilderness would fall an easy prey to their savage neighbors, should they think proper to attack them.[10]

Despite the unsettled conditions, the new country was filling up comparatively rapidly. In 1791, Herkimer and Otsego counties

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[5]*Ibid.*, 15.

[6]*Hardenbergh Genealogy, MSS.* Both of these families were prominent in military and political activities in Ulster county. There was considerable intermarriage for several generations between prominent families of Dutch extraction in that portion of Ulster County.

[7]*Hardenburgh Letters, MSS.* in possession of Prof. Waldo. Also, *Hardenbergh Genealogy.*

[8]*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 169, 141–142, 206–208.

[9]*Hardenbergh Letters, MSS.*

[10]Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War, Canandaigua, 29 April, 1794, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 480.

were created out of Montgomery county and three years later Onondaga was erected out of Herkimer.[11]

In 1794, war clouds hung threateningly over the land. American relations with England had been unsatisfactory ever since the signing of the Treaty of Paris closing the war. For some years succeeding the peace, Great Britain had not even seen fit to accord the United States the dignity of a minister and such diplomatic relations as were carried on were unofficially conducted by Hamilton through a Major Beckwith. Great Britain, likewise, continued to hold the western forts on American territory and the government in Canada seems sincerely to have believed that it was in retaliation for the American neglect to carry into effect other clauses of the treaty. The real reason, however, is to be found in the influence of the Montreal merchants who were able to persuade the government that the passing of the posts into American hands meant the loss of the fur trade of the Illinois country and the Great Lakes region.[12] The Canadian authorities, furthermore, seem to have feared that the aggressiveness of the American settlers would ultimately manifest itself in the violent wresting of Upper Canada from the British Crown and they saw with misgiving the crowding of American settlers into New York to the region around Sodus Bay.[13] The Americans were filling up New York much more rapidly than the British could possibly fill up Upper Canada which at this time was producing a bare surplus of 30,000 bushels of wheat.[14] Consequently, the British authorities, sympathizing deeply with the Indians of New York and Ohio, encouraged them to resist the further aggressions of American settlers and hold out for a definitive treaty line west of which settlers were not to go.[15] The effect of this would have been to erect a series of semi-independent Indian states within American territory which would have effectually throttled westward expansion for the time being. The Indians, encouraged by the British, rejected all American treaty demands for land cessions and a war, culminating in Wayne's campaign, became necessary.

[11] *Manual for the Use of the Legislature of New York State*, Albany, 1928, 283.
[12] *Report on Canadian Archives, 1891*, Q. 280–2, 43.
[13] Dorchester to Dundas, No. 3, 25 Oct. 1793, *ibid.*, Q. 66, 58.
[14] *Ibid.*, Q. 280–2, 435.
[15] *Ibid.*, Q. 65, 45–51; Q. 66, 54–58.

PORTION OF GUY JOHNSON MAP OF 1768

Anglo-American relations, in 1794, were further complicated by the outbreak of the French Revolutionary wars. While both Dorchester and Dundas agreed that peace was essential to the development of Canada, their judgment seems to have been warped by the alarmist attitudes and reports of Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada. Simcoe was greatly perturbed by the French intrigues in the United States and was absolutely convinced of the coming of war.[16] Nor were his fears allayed by the receipt of a dispatch from Baron Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, acquainting him with Genet's plan for an attack by George Rogers Clark on New Orleans and requesting British assistance for the defense of St. Louis against a possible American attack.[17] Simcoe seems to have been especially alarmed at the preparations for Wayne's advance into Ohio. He was convinced that the expedition was being directed against Detroit. Despite Dorchester's unsuccessful attempts to restrain him, Simcoe's alarm seems to have been communicated to Dorchester himself who in an unguarded moment made a most impolitic and inflammatory address to the Indians assembled at a council.[18] There can be no question but that the British attitude did much to embolden the Indians, whom they liberally supplied with arms and ammunition from the stores of the Indian Department. After the battle with Wayne, British muskets and bayonets were found on the field, to say nothing of the bodies of Canadian irregulars who had fought in the Indian ranks.[19] As a result of the British attitude, a wave of anger swept across the frontier which saw further expansion and profit of land speculator definitely halted for the time being. To make matters worse, the news of Dorchester's address to the Indians appeared in the newspapers on the same day (26 March 1794) as the news of the seizure of two American ships by the British West India authorities in accordance with the Order-in-Council of 8 January 1794.[20]

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[16]Dundas to Simcoe, 11 July 1794, *ibid.*, Q. 68, 71.

[17]Carondelet to Simcoe, 2 January 1794, *ibid.*, Q. 69–1, 73.

[18]*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 461–463.

[19]Wayne to the Secretary of War, 7 and 28 July 1794, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 487–490; also, Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*, N. Y., 1923, 178–179.

[20]*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 428–431; Bemis, *op. cit.*, 194–195.

With the opening of the French Revolutionary wars, England had set about to use her sea-power systematically to crush the enemy. On 6 November 1793, the first Order-in-Council was issued for the seizure of all ships carrying the produce of France or of the the French West Indies. This order was superseded by the more stringent order of 8 January 1794 which further provided for the seizure of all vessels attempting to enter the ports of the French West Indies. The West Indies trade was the most lucrative in the possession of the American merchant. The result was that Washington could transmit to Congress, on 25 March 1794, the report of the American Consul at St. Eustatia to the effect that 220 American vessels had been seized by British warships and privateers and carried into port for adjudication.[21] A wail arose not only from New York but from Philadelphia as well, and complaints began to arrive from Rhode Island of the impressment of American sailors and of other unwarranted interferences with American trade.[22] These were merely new grievances to an already long list. So strong was the demand for redress and satisfaction that even Alexander Hamilton temporarily forsook his traditional policy of peace at any price with Great Britain and recommended that the country be put in a posture of defense. He submitted to Washington a plan for increasing the effective strength of the army by 20,000 men as well as the fortifying of the principal harbors.[23] The country was woefully unprepared for war. The effective strength of the army was but 3,629 men, of whom 2,634 were with Wayne in the Northwest; of the remainder, only 369 were available for the manning of the forts along the coast.[24] With this situation confronting it, a committee of the House, on March 27th, recommended measures designed to increase, upon the outbreak of war, the enrollment of the militia to 80,000, of which

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[21] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 428–429. Great Britain, however, was not the only offender. On 13 March 1794, the Secretary of State informed the Senate, in answer to an inquiry relative to spoliations and trade interference, that the department had thirty-two claims against Great Britain, twenty-six against France, ten against Spain, and one against the Dutch. (*Ibid.*, 1: 461.)

[22] *Ibid.*, 1: 423-424, 466–468.

[23] Hamilton to Washington, 8 March 1794, in Lodge, H. C. (ed.), *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, N. Y., 1886, 8: 316–318.

[24] *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 68.

New York was to furnish 7,971.[25] At the same time, Congress was considering placing American shipping under an embargo.[26]

The War Department was not behind hand in taking the necessary steps to defend the sea-coast in the event of a war with Great Britain. On April 1st, Charles Vincent, an engineer, was sent to New York by General Knox to draw plans for fortifying the harbor. There was available for this purpose but $12,522.36 which Knox realized was entirely inadequate for the erection of permanent fortifications. He suggested, therefore, that the works be planned with a view to constructing only the most important and that those be of earth faced with sod; the embrasures to be faced with two inch planks.[27] Vincent, in line with the government's policy elsewhere, was instructed to confer with the governor and secure his assent to the erection of the fortifications.[28] Vincent worked with commendable speed and laid out three distinct works before he departed for West Point to strengthen the fortifications there. At the time that he left, the fortifications on Governor's Island and the floating battery at the extremity of New York City had been completed and work was being rushed on the batteries at the Narrows and on Bedloe's and Oyster Islands. In all, eighty-two guns of heavy calibre were mounted.[29]

Nor were the British authorities oblivious to the situation. On January 8, 1794, the home government, while cautioning Dorchester and urging a "conciliatory disposition, consistent with the preservation of the posts," instructed him to see to it that the militia of Upper Canada was placed on a respectable footing and advised him that arms and ammunition were being sent.[30] One month later he was being informed that an increase in the number of regiments for service in Canada would be authorized.[31] In July, Admiral Murray's fleet in American waters was being increased and additional arms and ammunition were being sent to Canada.[32] It was in this warlike atmosphere that Lord Dorchester made his violent speech to the Indians to hold them to British allegiance and encourage them to form an alliance strong enough

[25] *Ibid.*, 67. [26] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 429.
[27] *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 77–78.
[28] *Ibid.*, 75–77. [29] *Ibid.*, 77–78.
[30] Dundas to Dorchester, 8 Jan. 1794., *Report on Canadian Archives, 1891*, Q. 67, p. 62. [31] Same to same, 15 Feb. 1794, No. 2, *ibid.*, Q. 63, p. 64, 67.
[32] Same to same, 5 July 1794, *ibid.*, Q. 67, p. 67, 68.

to resist the Americans.[33] In fact, so great a quantity of arms, ammunition, and presents were being issued by the Indian Department in 1794, that there was a decided shortage for the year 1795 which had to be made good by extraordinary requisitions.[34] Simcoe, too, was becoming more nervously aggressive than usual. In April, fearful of Wayne's intentions, he had gone on to Detroit and from there had despatched three companies of the garrison to construct a fort at the rapids of the Miami. This was clearly an invasion of American territory and was intended primarily to stiffen the Indian resistance, though Simcoe deluded himself into believing that he was merely meeting Wayne's thrust at Detroit.[35] A short time later he despatched an officer with an escort to order the group of American settlers away from Sodus Bay where they had settled under the leadership of a Captain Williamson who held title from New York state.[36] It is unbelievable that Simcoe would have acted so in these two instances, had he not been convinced that war was inevitable.

In April 1794, the Federalists under Hamilton recovered their poise and set about stemming the drift toward war. On the day that Abraham Hardenbergh was writing his letter, Washington was sending Jay's nomination to the Senate as special envoy to Great Britain in an endeavor to bring about a settlement of all outstanding difficulties.[37] The situation in Europe had, by the time of Jay's arrival, undergone a rather considerable change and Great Britain had no desire to raise another enemy against herself. She

[33]"Colonel Butler and Captain Bunbury attended the council, in behalf of the British Government. They took pains on all occasions, to represent a war between their government and ours, as inevitable; and, although in my presence, they did not intimate that their assistance would be wanted by the King, yet, I am persuaded, that on other occasions, every effort is made to secure it." Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War, 29 April 1794, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 480. [34]Bemis, *op. cit.*, 178–179, and note.

[35]*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 480; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 461–463. [36]Bemis, *loc. cit.*,

[37]*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 447. "My objects are, to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained by fair and strong representations (to be made by a special envoy) of the injuries which this country has sustained from Great Britain in various ways, to put it into a complete state of military defence, and to provide *eventually* for such measures, as seem to be now pending in Congress for execution, if negotiation in a reasonable time proves unsuccessful." Washington to Edmund Randolph, 15 April 1794, in Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, N. Y., 1891, 12: 419.

was now willing to sacrifice the interests of the Montreal merchants. In July, Lord Dorchester was informed:

> The Policy for the defence of Upper Canada is founded on the principle that the posts are held temporarily, ... the presence of Mr. Jay may lead to a final termination of all disputes and a perfect good understanding between the two countries; still provision must be made against the possibility of a contrary disposition on the part of America.[38]

The possibilities of a perfect accord were within the immediate offing.

The Hardenberghs were almost as deeply interested in New York state politics as they were in land speculation and development along the frontier. The politics of New York were in a most unsatisfactory state in 1794. The Hardenberghs were decided Anti-Federalists and firm supporters of Governor Clinton. In the campaign of 1792 between Clinton and Jay, the votes of Otsego, Tioga, and Clinton counties had been, for one reason or another, irregularly transmitted to the Secretary of State. The question of the propriety of accepting the returns from these three counties was so technical that the returning board hesitated to take the responsibility and submitted the question to the two United States senators, Rufus King and Aaron Burr, for decision. No question would have been raised concerning the returns from these three counties had it not been discovered that they gave Jay a majority of some 400 votes, which would have been sufficient to elect him. Jay's majority in Otsego County was particularly striking. That the three frontier counties should have gone Federalist at all is surprising, and can only be accounted for by the fact that a stronger federal government was desired by the frontier—one that could remove the Indians from the land and that would resist the aggressions of the British authorities in Canada. Burr took a strictly technical view of the matter despite the remonstrances of Senator King and decided against counting the votes from the three counties. The returning board was in the hands of the Clintonians and its decision was a foregone conclusion. Clinton alone could have averted this injustice. The result was a three to four decision. The vote, after the ballots from the three countries had been thrown out, now stood 8,440 for Clinton and 8,332 for Jay. The ballots were then promptly burned to prevent any pos-

[38]Dundas to Dorchester, 5 July 1794, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1891, Q. 68, p. 68.

sibility of further action although heretofore the custom had prevailed of preserving them in the office of the secretary of State,[39] The counting out of Jay filled the western counties with chagrin and indignation and there were threats of an appeal to arms. Hamilton, Jay, and King joined in calming the populace and counselled submission to this act of the legally constituted authorities.[40]

"Clinton entered upon his third term as governor amidst vituperation and obloquy"—an usurper. The Federalists, however, under the leadership of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, a New York lawyer, set about reducing the power of the governor to the lowest possible figure. The power of the governor lay in his control of the Council of Appointment and, hence, of the patronage. The Federalists, therefore, proposed to choose a new council although the term of the old one had not yet expired. The new Council of Appointment, as finally constituted, was headed by Philip Schuyler and consisted entirely of Federalists. The Federalists, further, contended that where the law did not limit or specify the number of office holders, the duty of making such determination devolved upon the Council of Appointment. This really meant that practically all of the Clintonians were to be replaced with Federalists in every office of the state with the exception of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and members of the legislature and of city councils. Thus, under the leadership of Schuyler the Council of Appointment became a political engine, much to the anger of the good Clintonians like Abraham Hardenbergh.[41]

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Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

ABRAHAM HARDENBERGH TO JOHN L. HARDENBERGH, AURELIUS [AUBURN], N. Y.

New York, April 16th, 1794

Dear *Sir*

We have just begun to break Ground to Fortify our harbour[.] Mr. Vincent the engineer who was sent on by the President

[39]Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York*, N. Y., 1906, 1: 56–59; Robert Troup to John Jay, 6 May 1792, in Johnston, *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, N. Y., 1891, 3: 424–427.

[40]Hamilton to King, Philadelphia, 28 June 1792, in Lodge, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 8: 269.

[41]Alexander, *op. cit.*, 1: 61–62.

for the purpose and who is to administer the orders of the Governor has determined to Fortify Governors Island Bedlows Island and Oyster Island together with Batteries on each side in the Narrows —War appears to be inevitable as they Capture without distinction or discrimination all American Vessels going or Coming to or from the W. Indias and it is generally supposed that Congress will to their demand of restitution for the Spoliations on our Trade add a surrender of the Western Posts—If war takes place and I can obtain my rank I shall immediately enter the army and in this case you might possibly see me in the course of the Season in your quarter with some Soldiers at my Heels—if the appearance of war should vanish I hope to be up with you in July in a private Capacity—The British have invested the Island of Martinico and have possession of it excepting the very strong post of Fort Bourbon which is defended by Genl. Rochambeau [,] son to the Genl. who commanded the French Army in America. The Son is the same who defeated the British last season in Martinico and his father has pledged himself with the National Convention for the good Conduct of his son[.] the Fort it is said is well supplied with provisions and on the 25th March was not taken nor likely to be Taken—on the Rhine, and other parts of France, the Republicans are carrying everything before them: the Duke of Brunswick and Genl. Wormser are beaten back into Germany; the boasted siege of Landau raised and their armies almost Totally defeated—This day an acct. has arrived from the W. Indias that the british in their approaches at Fort Bourbon Martinico were let alone until they had erected Considerable Works when the French opened their Artillery on them[,] tore up the Works and killed a great many[42]—In a letter from Major DeWitt[43] I am informed of the formation of Onondaga County and the appointment of officers—no doubt a rascally one; but what could have been expected from a Rascally Majority[44]—De Witt has declared that he will enter the political Field against them; and signified (altho' not in express terms) that he would not serve under Mr. Richardson—for which I commend him and hope you will shew the same spirit on the Occasion—I advise De Witt—Danforth[45] & yourself and any other of the Civil officers which you can get to Join you to draw up a remonstrance against Jno. Richardson in which you should state his Character during the Lessee busi-

[42]On 23 May, Fort Bourbon surrendered with all of the honors of war.

[43]Moses DeWitt. He had emigrated from Ulster County and had been employed with John L. Hardenbergh in the survey of the military bounty lands. He was now a major in the Herkimer County militia. (*Minutes of the Council of Appointment*, 1: 289.)

[44]This evidently refers to the new Council of Appointment which was now in Federalist hands. [45]Asa Danforth.

ness[46] which is pretty black in Penna. Too and which caused his removing from there—Your Military Commission must be your Object now and I would resign the Civil[47] provided that De Witt and Danforth Join you with that Contempt which the treatment merits—but hold fast to the Military and the time may come when you will again obtain the superiority in the Civil too—but whatever you do endeavour to obtain influence by treating every person well; even the people who adhere to the other party; for it is by popularity only that you can expect to prevail—I have advised De Witt That you Danforth, Pain[e] & himself should form a firm alliance against that party; together with such others of influence as you can engage in it with safety—and stick firmly to each other—The bearer hereof is Mr. Walter Nichol son of Col. Isaac Nicholl now of New Jersey but formerly of New Windsor he is an attorney and is to take Charge of Ledyards office for the emoluments of the Court business—his father Col. Nicholl is a staunch Clintonian and so is he too but he has from Motives of Interest determined for the [illegible] first while to keep himself quiet which I commend him for—They have had a very Contested Election in Kin[g]ston for Supervisor. The Jayite Party have got Doctr. vanDerlyne in but with difficulty—Johnathon Hausbrook who has been a Jayite and was appointed one of the Judges last winter is turned Clintonian: & if the Clintonians cannot run one of their own party in for assemblyman they mean to throw their Interest in favour of Addison against Corn [?] Elmendorph so[48] that he must expect to go to the right about—Just now another Vessel arrived from Guadeloupe which confirms that Fort Bourbon in Martinico is still in the possession of the French and not likely *to be taken*—I have nothing further to add but that I shall expect a Letter from you by the first opportunity—and remain Dear Sir yours

Affectionately
Abm. Hardenbergh

Mrs. Hardenbergh requests her
best respects to you—be kind
enough to present mine to all Friends.

[46]This probably refers to some questionable deals in Indian lands in 1791. At that time, Richardson secured a cession of land from the Cayuga Indians at a public treaty which was later disavowed by the United States. Secretary of War to Governor Clinton, 17 Aug. 1791, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 169.

[47]John L. Hardenbergh was at this time major commanding the Herkimer county battalion of militia. (*Minutes of the Council of Appointment*, 1: 190.) In 1793, Governor Clinton appointed him to the position of associate justice of Herkimer county and one of the three commissioners to lay out the Genesee Turnpike. (Hawley, *op. cit.*, 16.)

[48]Coenr'dt E. Elmendorf was a member from Ulster in the 17th Assembly in 1794. John Addison was, however, elected to the 19th which met in 1796.

THE IROQUOIS INDIANS AND THEIR LANDS SINCE 1783

I

THE SIX NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The Iroquois, called by the English the Six Nations, consisted of the Mohawk, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca nations. By the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the English had made tremendous inroads into the choicest possessions of the original Iroquois domain. They had also procured a valuable strip of land along the Niagara River so that the carrying place, an important western trade center, was in their hands.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Iroquois were reckoned to consist of 10,000 souls of whom 2,000 were warriors.[1] For the first time since the formation of the Iroquois confederacy, the Six Nations became divided in war. For the most part the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas joined the English while the Oneidas and Tuscaroras declared their intention to support the American rebels.

The Sullivan-Clinton expedition was undertaken by the United States Congress to check this unhappy condition in New York State, to punish the four enemy Iroquois tribes for their savage raids against the American settlers and to lay waste the crops of the Indians which were furnishing the English with food supply. General Washington in planning the expedition probably also intended to gain claim to western New York and Pennsylvania and to the rich lands south of the Great Lakes west, so that the young American Nation would, with a victorious peace, have a claim on the west and thereby room for expansion and growth.[2]

The Sullivan-Clinton Expedition succeeded in devastating completely the fertile lands and villages of the enemy tribes. In western New York a great number of the Indian villages as far as the Genesee River were burned to the ground. A total of

[1]Cruikshank, E., *Butler's Rangers*, p. 16. These figures also given in Beauchamp, *History of the New York Iroquois*, p. 342.

[2]Flick, A. C., "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779," in QUARTERLY JOURNAL, July 1929, 10: 192.

forty flourishing "castles" or villages of the Iroquois were destroyed[3] and their fields of corn and orchards of fruit were laid waste. Their whole territory was left in complete desolation which meant sickening despair to the Indians. This expedition which had grown in scope as the plans developed until it could more accurately be called a campaign, probably set back the Indian civilization by one hundred years. The Indians had by degrees acquired from the whites the idea of planting in rows, the cultivation of domestic fruits and the use of iron implements such as the plow and hoe, all of which had improved their tillage until at the period of the Revolutionary War their agricultural pursuits had reached their greatest productiveness in the fertile valley of the Genesee. Then Sullivan arrived and destroyed everything.

In 1783 Great Britain recognized the independence of the colonies and by the treaty of peace ceded to the United States a vast territory south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. The ancient domain of the Six Nations confederacy which in 1783 embraced most of western New York and a portion of northwestern Pennsylvania was included within this boundary granted by England to the United States. In the peace treaty no mention was made of the Iroquois by Great Britain. It appeared that England had forgotten the services of the Iroquois, their homeless condition and the pledges which the British government had made, for General Haldimand, commander-in-chief in Canada during the war, had in April 1779 pledged under hand and seal that as soon as the war was over the Mohawks would be restored to their former condition.[4]

The Seneca nation offered the landless Mohawks a tract in the Genesee valley for their new home. But Joseph Brant, their leader, refused this offer and instead journeyed to Quebec to claim from General Haldimand the fulfillment of his former pledge. The general was true to his word and on October 25, 1784, there was granted a strip of land, six miles in breadth, on either side of the Grand River from Lake Erie to its source.[5] Having acquired

[3]Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[4]Stone, W. L., *The Life of Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea*, 2: 238. (Cited hereafter as Stone, *Brant.*)

[5]"Claim of the Six Nations." Return to an order in the [Canadian] House of Commons, May 2, 1887, p. 2.

their new home, the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations began to migrate across the Niagara into Canada.

When the Mohawks left the United States and took up their new homes in Canada they claimed to carry with them their title to their former possessions in New York.[6] In order completely to extinguish any such title, a treaty, under the authority of a United States commissioner, was made at Albany, March 29, 1797, between the agents on the part of New York State and two deputies from the Mohawks. The treaty effected a cession from the Mohawks for one thousand dollars, with six hundred for expenses, to "the people of New York State, forever, all the right or title of the said nation to lands within the said State."[7]

Meanwhile the Indians of the confederacy who remained within the territory of the United States presented a grave problem to American statesmen. The Indians were not only an impediment to the land speculators who desired to grasp the fertile Indian hunting grounds but they were also an unwelcome element to the settlers, against whom they had so recently carried their savage raids. It is not surprising, therefore, that the legislature of New York State manifested a disposition to expel the Six Nations from all the territory in the state which they had not ceded before the war.[8] The general will and opinion among the settlers was that the Indians should go, they cared not where so long as their lands were cleared of the Indian occupation.

Fortunately there were several American citizens and statesmen whose views were of longer range than those of the avaricious land-jobbers and land-eager settlers on the frontier. George Washington and Philip Schuyler were among these judicious few. Washington expressed his liberal views in a letter in 1783 to a congressman.[9] In this he stated that although the Indians could be treated as a conquered people and compelled to retire along with the British to the Lakes, nevertheless it would be more just and discreet for the Americans to consider them as a deluded people and to allow them to remain in this country which was large

[6]N. Y. (state), *Report* [on] *The Indian Problem of the State of New York* (Assembly Documents, No. 51, 1889) p. 8. (Cited hereafter as New York, *Indian Problem*).

[7]*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 636.

[8]Stone, *Brant*, 2: 241.

[9]Ford, W. C. (ed.), *Writings of George Washington*, 11: 305.

enough for all, and partake of their trade. Washington believed that their expulsion from New York State would cause another Indian war which would be more expensive and distressing than the pacific method of purchasing the Indian lands, as the redmen became willing to sell. He advocated a boundary line between the Indians and the whites but he declared that the "Indians will retreat as the white man advances and hence will be ready to sell as the white man is ready to buy."[10]

Fortunately the views of Washington prevailed and our government has in general pursued a pacific and paternal policy toward the Indians within its wide-spread territories. In order to establish peace between the tribes and to define what lands they still should hold and what they should cede to the United States, the government decided to hold a conference with all the confederate tribes, except the Mohawks, at Ft. Stanwix.

The government of the United States in dealing with the Indian tribes now maintained no other claim to the Indian lands than the right of pre-emption. This claim it derived from the peace treaty with Great Britain in which the exclusive right of pre-emption to all the Indian lands lying within the territory of the United States was vested in the United States subject to the possessory right only of the natives.[11] These rights had been acquired by England through discovery, which under the practice of European nations was held to be equivalent to conquest, and although the natives were admitted to possess a just and legal claim, as the original occupants of the soil, to retain and use it according to their own discretion, still they were not allowed to dispose of the soil at their own will, except to the government claiming the right of pre-emption.[12] While the right of sovereignty, as it had been exercised by Great Britain, passed over to the United States by virtue of the treaty, under the articles of confederation, the pre-emption right to the soil became vested in the respective states within whose territories the Indians were situated[13] since the states had soverign powers in all matters not specifically ceded to the government by the articles.

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[10] *Ibid.* [11] Kent, J., *Commentaries on American Law*, 1: 257.

[12] *Ibid.*, 3: 379.

[13] Stone, W. L., *The Life and Times of Red Jacket*, p. 241. (Cited hereafter as Stone, *Red Jacket*.)

The outcome of the conference called at Fort Stanwix was the signing of a peace treaty on October 22, 1784. This was the second treaty made by the United States with an Indian tribe. It is generally believed that Cornplanter, the Seneca chief, was present but there is some doubt as to whether or not Red Jacket, the famous Seneca orator, was in attendance.[14] This treaty, as signed by the Six Nations, arranged peace for the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas and received them under the protection of the United States. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were secured in the possession of the lands upon which they were settled. The western boundary of the Six Nations was described as a line that started in the north at Johnson's Landing Place a point on Lake Ontario which is four miles east of Niagara River and followed from there in a southerly direction a line always four miles east of the Niagara to the mouth of Buffalo Creek on Lake Erie; thence it went due south to the north boundary of Pennsylvania,[15] and then west and south along the northern and western borders of of Pennsylvania to the Ohio River.[16] Everything that the Six Nations claimed west and north of this line was ceded to the United States while the territory east and south of this line which the Indian inhabited was retained for their peaceful possession. Thus the Iroquois ceded to the United States their claims to land in the national domain, leaving the question of their boundaries in New York and Pennsylvania to be settled by negotiation with those states.

In this, the second treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, the United States dealt with the Six Nations as a conquered people. They were given to understand that the return of their lands to them was an act of kindness by the United States and not a necessity. They were also made to realize that they were no longer an independent

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[14]W. L. Stone concluded that Red Jacket was present from the fact that Lafayette who was present at the treaty later stated that Red Jacket also attended. However, N. B. Craig, the editor of a monthly publication devoted to the preservation of documents, found and published the minutes of this council subsequent to the publication of Stone's biography of Red Jacket and in these minutes there is no mention of Red Jacket. So Craig believes it most probable that Red Jacket was not present.

[15]The triangular piece of land bordering on Lake Erie had not yet been ceded to Pennsylvania.

[16]Kappler, C. J. (ed.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, p. 5.

nation but rather wards within a state and nation possessed of supreme sovereignty.

The Six Nations, discontented with the terms of the treaty, signed it reluctantly and only because they believed they were obliged to. Later, in 1792, Cornplanter, in a speech to the United States implored the government to reconsider the 1784 treaty. In this speech he claimed that the Indians were forced to agree to the treaty and said: "You then told us that we were in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly. Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners, reasonable and just?"[17]

It is thus evident that the Senecas, especially, had not become reconciled to the treaty even though the Pennsylvania commissioners had, after the treaty, influenced Cornplanter to make special efforts to pacify his people by granting to him for these exertions a tract of land on the Allegheny River, within Pennsylvania.[18] It is plain from this speech of Cornplanter in 1792 that the chief was himself dissatisfied with the treaty and worried about the discontent of his people.

Subsequent to the treaty of 1784 a number of large land purchases were negotiated between land companies and the Indians in western New York. Most of the territory of western New York, which Robert Morris had purchased from Massachusetts, with the right to extinguish the Indian title, was resold by Morris to some Holland capitalists. Between the time of the Holland Land Purchase and the extinguishment of the Indian title to that purchase by Morris in 1797, an Indian war was in progress in the Northwest over the question of a boundary line between the United States and the western Indians. This Indian war had been a disconcerting influence upon the Iroquois at the very time when

[17] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 206.

[18] Stone, *Red Jacket*, p. 28.

the land companies were pressing them for more and more of their land. President Washington therefore, in order to seal a peace, insure a friendship with the Iroquois during this disturbing Indian war and settle the long standing disagreement with the Six Nations over the boundaries of the 1784 treaty, called a council between the Six Nations and the United States at Canandaigua on October 11, 1794.

Colonel Timothy Pickering was assigned the post of Commissioner for the United States. The Indians came group by group with faces painted and minds set upon the stand they would take in regard to certain grievances that had been bothering them for the past ten years. There were two main grievances held by the Indians. One was that they wished the United States to return to them for fishing purposes a four mile strip along Niagara River, ceded to the whites by the treaty of 1784. The second grievance was occasioned after the sale by Congress in September 1792[19] to Pennsylvania of a triangular strip of land that touched on Lake Erie which was thereafter incorporated in the northwestern part of that state. The Pennsylvanians had immediately started a movement of settlement into Presqu' Isle (Erie) which was included in this strip of territory. The Six Nations claimed the same territory as their own and resented the settlement.[20]

Red Jacket, who though a war chief of inferior rank,[21] had been selected because of his oratorical ability as the principal speaker of the Senecas at this council, spoke with perspicacity and subtle sarcasm on these grievances. He said: "With respect to the four mile path, we are in want of it on account of the fisheries. You white people have increased very fast on this island which was given to us Indians by the Great Spirit. We are now become

[19] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 545.

[20] They claimed this territory, though ceded to the United States by the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1784, because they considered this treaty invalid.

[21] W. L. Stone makes Red Jacket a sachem but at the same time admits that he was not a member of a family with a hereditary sachemship. This indicates that Stone used the word sachem interchangeably with chief, failing to make the real distinction. Inasmuch as such reliable authorities as Horatio Hale, General Ely S. Parker (an Iroquois Indian) and A. C. Parker (an Iroquois Indian) state that Red Jacket was not a sachem but a chief of perhaps only the third or most inferior rank, there is no reason for believing him to have been a sachem.

a very small people. You are cutting off our lands piece by piece. You are a kind-hearted people seeking your own advantage."[22] To Pickering's offer of a large increase in annuity, as well as a return to them of all the lands in their former grants upon which their villages were built,[23] for the retention of the cession of the four mile strip along Niagara on which the United States needed to build a road and taverns where the traveler could rest, Red Jacket answered: "But we apprehend you would not only build houses but towns. You told us these houses would be for the accommodations of travelers in the winter as they cannot go by water in that season. If we consent to your proposals, we know it will injure us. If these houses should be built, they will tend to scatter us and make us fall into the street by drinking to excess, instead of benefiting us. You want land to raise provisions, etc., but as soon as the white people settle there, they would think the land theirs—for this is the way of the white people."[24]

In consequence, Colonel Pickering moderated his demands and even in the matter of a road along Niagara reduced his request to the construction of a road from Fort Schlosser to Buffalo Creek; Red Jacket and the other chiefs, as well as the sachems, finally agreed to Pickering's terms. After a whole month of prolonged speeches and stormy deliberations, the treaty was signed on November 11, 1794, at Canandaigua in the presence of a deputation of Quakers who had been invited by the Indians to attend the council.

By this treaty the Senecas gave up their claims to territory in the Pennsylvania triangle and along the Ohio River as they were forced to concede that by the treaty of 1784 these lands had been sold to the United States. By this treaty also Pickering, in the name of the United States, gave back to the Senecas their land in western New York which they had relinquished by the treaty of 1784. The Six Nations, however, since the United States desired a road from Johnson's Landing on Lake Ontario to Stedman's Creek above the falls, allowed the United States to keep from this re-cession the four mile strip along Niagara beginning at Johnson's Landing place and extending to the point where Stedman's Creek empties into Niagara River above Fort Schlosser. The remainder of the four mile strip, from Fort Schlosser to Lake

[22]Stone, *Red Jacket*, p. 134. [23]*Ibid.*, p. 135. [24]*Ibid.*, p. 136.

Erie, thus was returned to the Indians. From the eastern end of Lake Erie, the western boundary line of the Seneca lands followed along the south shore of the lake to the northeast corner of the triangular piece of land which the United States had conveyed to Pennsylvania.[25] The Senecas also ceded to the United States, as well as the four mile strip below Fort Schlosser, the right to make a wagon road from Fort Schlosser to Buffalo Creek with free and undisputed use of the road for transportation. According to the above stipulations, the western boundary of the Senecas began four miles east of Niagara River on Lake Ontario and extended due south opposite to Fort Schlosser; from this point it followed the Niagara River to Lake Erie and then along Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania triangle; the southern boundary of their domain was the Pennsylvania line; the eastern boundary was the line of the territory they sold to Phelps and Gorham[26] which consisted of 2,600,000 acres lying mainly between Seneca Lake and the Genesee River; and the northern boundary was Lake Ontario.[27]

In regard to the rest of the Six Nations the United States acknowledged the land reserved to the Oneida, Cayuga, and Onondaga nations in their respective treaties with New York State and recognized these reservations as the Indians' own property which the United States would never claim or disturb until they chose to sell them.[28]

Thus peace and friendship were secured between the United States and the Iroquois. Both parties felt that the treaty was successful. The Senecas felt repaid for their loss of territory west of the Pennsylvania line by the pledge of securities they had received that the lands they now held were theirs forever. It was the last great council held by the United States government with the Confederacy of the Six Nations. Some of its treaty stipulations hold today and the Indians regard the transaction as one of the fairest treaties ever made between the United States and an Indian tribe.

II

THE SIX NATIONS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS GRANTEES

The first land cession of the Iroquois after the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1784 was in Pennsylvania. The treaty line of the first

[25] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 545.

[26] The Phelps and Gorham purchase was made in 1786.

[27] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 545. [28] *Ibid.*

Fort Stanwix treaty of 1768 on the east and that of 1784 on the west had left to the domain of the Six Nations, besides their holdings in New York, a triangular piece of land in northwestern Pennsylvania. Immediately after the treaty of 1784, the state of Pennsylvania determined to obtain this stretch of land from the Indians and as a result on the day after the treaty, October 23, 1784,[29] received cession from the Six Nations of the residue of their lands within the limits of that state. The Six Nations were now limited to the confines of New York State.

In April 1784, the legislature of the state of New York had passed an act, making the governor and a board of commissioners the superintendents of Indian affairs.[30] These men had been present at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784, and on June 28, 1785,[31] they convened a council at Fort Herkimer with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. Governor Clinton of New York, in an opening speech made a pretence that he understood they desired to sell their lands and after informing them that the state held the exclusive right to purchase, he stated that it was ready to buy. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras, however, answered that they did not wish to part with their lands. They were very reluctant to sell or lease even a small part; but after long speech-making the commissioners were finally successful in procuring the territory belonging to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras between the Chenango and Unadilla Rivers lying south of a line drawn east and west through the Unadilla and Chenango Rivers ten miles north of the division line between New York and Pennsylvania.[32] The consideration paid to the Indians was $11,500, together with a quantity of goods and presents.

Very soon after the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1784 a dispute arose between Massachusetts and New York State over conflicting claims to the western part of the state. Massachusetts claimed western New York under a grant from King James I to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and New York claimed the same territory by the early treaties with the Iroquois. Both states claimed jurisdiction as well as pre-emption right over the same tract which was about

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[29]Craig, N. B. (ed.), *The Olden Time*, 2: 449.

[30]O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, p. 100.

[31]*Ibid.* [32]Hall, B. F., *The Early History of the North Western States*, p. 62.

nineteen thousand square miles in extent. The conflict was finally settled by a convention of commissioners from each state, four from Massachusetts and six from New York, which met at Hartford, Conn., December 16, 1786.[33] At this convention New York ceded to Massachusetts the "right of pre-emption of the soil of the native Indians and all other estate except of sovereignty and jurisdiction" in a tract about 6,000,000 acres in extent and Massachusetts ceded to New York "government, sovereignty and jurisdiction" over the same area. This tract of land comprised all of the State of New York west of a line afterwards called the "pre-emption line," beginning at the boundary line of Pennsylvania, eighty-two miles west from the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and running north upon the meridian of seventy-seven degrees that runs through Seneca Lake to Sodus Bay, on Lake Ontario, excepting and reserving to the state of New York a strip of land east of and adjoining the eastern bank of Niagara river one mile wide, and extending its whole length. For this reason Massachusetts and her commissioners figure in all the subsequent treaties of purchase with the Iroquois while New York State still held the right to govern the territory.

There were others, however, who for private gain, were anxious to buy the Indian title in New York State and although the laws of the State already prohibited the purchase of any Indian lands a group of land speculators formed a company called the New York Genesee Land Company[34] in 1787 and proceeded to evade the law by leasing instead of buying from the Indians. At the same time a branch company was organized in Canada called the Niagara Genesee Land Company which included among others John Butler. The influence of Colonel John Butler over the Six Nations was very great and was taken advantage of by the companies. They also made use of several fur traders among the Indians who belonged to their organization. By means of this influence and the use of other shady methods, in November 1787,[35] they obtained a lease from the chiefs of the Six Nations which conveyed the right to occupy and sublease all of the Indian land within New York, exclusive of certain reservations, for the long period of 999 years[36]

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[33]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 16.
[34]Stone, *Red Jacket*, p. 31.
[35]*Ibid.*, p. 32.
[36]Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

at the small annual rent of two thousand Spanish milled dollars and a bonus of twenty thousand dollars. The land so leased was approximately eight million acres in extent. It was understood by the State that the lessees considered it practically a purchase, since their real purpose was believed to be to hasten settlers into the new lands for the ultimate formation of a new state.[37]

Whatever the purpose may have been, the people of the state became alarmed as well as the government; Governor Clinton very soon issued a proclamation warning purchasers that the Lessee title would be annulled; and he also notified the Six Nations of its illegality. The executive called the attention of the State legislature to the matter and it responded by authorizing the governor to employ measures of force to remove all intruders from the lands.

Meanwhile another great land speculation that was to effect New York State and the Six Nations vitally in subsequent land titles was the negotiation by Oliver Phelps of Connecticut and Nathaniel Gorham of Boston, Massachusetts, for the purchase of a portion of the lands included in the grant of pre-emption right from New York to Massachusetts. These two men had formed an association with others who were interested in the purchase and in April 1788 Phelps and Gorham, acting for this company, purchased from Massachusetts the pre-emption right to all the lands in western New York that had been ceded to Massachusetts and which amounted to about six million acres. The purchase price was $1,000,000 to be paid in three annual installments within three years in the public money of the State which was then greatly depreciated.[38]

Phelps began immediately to open negotiations with the Indians to extinguish their title but met at the outset the difficulty of the Lessee companies' claims. Although Massachusetts promptly declared the leases of this company void and Governor Clinton had begun an active warfare against the invalid claims, the influence of the two companies was so powerful among the Indians that by threatening to form a new State from the disputed territory and by stirring up discontent among the Indians they forced Phelps and Gorham to compromise. The outcome was that Phelps granted to the lessees a certain interest in the property.

[37]Stone, *Red Jacket*, p. 32.

[38]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 17.

Phelps then proceeded to his original task of extinguishing the Indian title by opening negotiations with the Senecas through Horatio Jones.[39] He convened a council at Buffalo Creek on July 4, 1788,[40] and succeeded in purchasing from the Six Nations the title to a tract of land approximately 2,600,000 acres in extent lying mainly between Seneca Lake and the Genesee River[41] for $5,000 and an annuity of $500. The Indians upon Phelps' request also granted him a lot west of the Genesee River of 200,000 acres on which to place a mill to grind corn for the Indians. The Indians were amazed when they learned that an acre would have done for the purpose. The names of Red Jacket and Joseph Brant are signed among others to this treaty.

It was with incredible swiftness and inconceivable cheapness that the Indian title to their lands west of the pre-emption line was being transferred to the whites. On the east of the pre-emption line New York State was likewise not slow in wresting their land titles from the aborigines.

The State called a council of the Onondagas and Oneidas for this purpose in September 1788 at Fort Schuyler (formerly called Fort Stanwix). As the lease that the two Lessee companies had procured from the Indians covered their land east of the pre-emption line the companies were opposed to a treaty for such lands between the state and the Indians; and members of the company arrived at the designated place before the Governor came, in order to thwart his object if possible by trying to induce the Indians not to attend. When Governor Clinton appeared he ordered the Lessee men to retire forty miles from the treaty grounds[42] and he warned the Indians that the state alone reserved to itself the right to purchase their lands when the Indians so desired. On September 12, 1788, he succeeded in obtaining from the Onondaga nation a deed of cession of all their lands, excepting a reservation for their own occupation extending south

[39]J. H. Harris, *Life of Horatio Jones* (Buffalo Historical Society, Publications, 1903), p. 476–7; Horatio Jones and Joseph Smith had been taken captives by the Indians and released after the war. They settled in the woods as fur traders, learned the Indian language and were so familiar with the aborigines that they were employed as interpreters.

[40]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 18.

[41]*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 210.

[42]Harris, *Horatio Jones*, p. 478.

from Onondaga Lake for the consideration of 1,000 French crowns, 200 pounds in clothing and an annuity of $500 forever.[43]

On September 22, 1788, the Oneidas pathetically reminded Governor Clinton of his statement at the Fort Herkimer council in 1785 that he would not ask them for more of their lands. This reminder was of little consequence since the Oneidas also conveyed to New York State all their land only reserving several tracts for their own residence, one of which was near Oneida Lake around "Oneida Castle," their principal village. The state paid for this cession $2,000 in money, $2,000 in clothing, $1,000 in provisions, $500 to erect a grist mill and a saw mill and an annuity of $600 forever.[44]

On February 25, 1789, a council was convened between New York State and the Cayugas to extinguish their title to lands east of the pre-emption line. The Cayugas likewise ceded to the state all their lands except a reservation of one hundred square miles near Cayuga Lake for their own use. The state paid them $500 in hand, $1,625 the following June and a $500 annuity.[45]

By these three treaty purchases the state came into possession of all the Indian lands (except the reservations named), east of the pre-emption line, which became known as the "Military Tract" and included the present counties of Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca and Cortland and parts of Tompkins, Schuyler, Oswego and Wayne. The Lessees were compelled to surrender to the state the titles which they claimed to any part of this territory.

It has already been mentioned that Phelps and Gorham purchased from the Six Nations 2,600,000 acres. Thus the Indian title was extinguished from only the easternmost portion of their whole purchase in western New York. This tract was surveyed into townships and lots according to the original plan of the company and offered for sale as quickly as possible. So rapid were the sales that by 1790 fifty townships were disposed of and several white families had settled as far west as the old site of the Indian village of Canandaigua.

In the meantime the scrip which Phelps and his associates had agreed to pay to Massachusetts in installments had risen in value owing to the great rise in Massachusetts stocks that had followed the adoption of the federal constitution and Phelps was unable to

[43]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 9, 190. [44]*Ibid.*, p. 237. [45]*Ibid.*, p. 216.

buy the scrip at the appreciated value in order to meet his obligation. Massachusetts thereupon brought suit against Phelps and his associates but a compromise was agreed upon whereby Phelps and his associates retained the land to which they had extinguished the Indian title and relinquished to Massachusetts the remainder of their purchase.[46]

At an appropriate figure, Robert Morris of Philadelphia, the famous financier of the Revolution, bought this remaining portion from Massachusetts on March 12, 1791, through his agent Samuel Ogden. This entire tract which included all of western New York, except the 2,600,000 acres which Phelps and his associates had retained by the compromise, was conveyed to Morris in five separate deeds.[47] The first deed contained 500,000 acres adjoining the Phelps holdings and was retained by Morris for a period and later sold in smaller parcels and become known as "Morris Reserve."

The other four tracts were sold by Morris in four separate deeds from 1792–93 to several Americans who acted as trustees for a group of Amsterdam capitalists. Coupled with this transaction was an agreement by Morris to extinguish the Indian title to these four tracts. The company retained 37,400 pounds sterling out of the total price of 75,000 pounds sterling until the extinguishment and surveys were completed by Morris.[48] The lands conveyed by these four deeds contained 3,600,000 acres and was called the "Holland Purchase."[49] It was Morris' duty to extinguish the Indian title to this huge tract embracing the westernmost portion of New York State. Thomas Morris was appointed by his father Robert Morris to execute this difficult task of securing the Indians' consent to title extinguishment by treaty, and for this purpose he went into their country and made his home at Canandaigua where he made every endeavor to cultivate their friendship and esteem. But this objective was not easily won since it was not

[46]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 18.

[47]The consideration paid by Morris was $225,000. New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 18.

[48]Evans, P. D. *The Holland Land Company* (Buffalo Historical Society, Publications, vol. 28, 1924), p. 25–26.

[49]Turner, *The Holland Land Purchase*, p. 347. This whole tract extended from Lake Ontario on the north to the Pennsylvania boundary line on the south and from the Genesee River on the east to the one mile strip of Niagara on the west.

until August 1797, five years later that he succeeded in getting the Indians to agree to meet him in council.[50]

The United States although not a party to the transaction appointed a commissioner, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, to attend the council in behalf of the government in accordance with the policy adopted after the Canandaigua treaty of 1794 of always appointing a United States commissioner to attend all councils of the Six Nations held for the sale of their lands. General Shepherd attended as representative for Massachusetts and William Bayard was present as the agent for the Holland Land Company.

The Indians had designated Big Tree, Geneseo, as the place and hence the transaction is known as the treaty of Big Tree. The negotiations were opened by Morris in August and lasted three weeks with about three thousand Iroquois[51] in attendance. Morris, having fully expatiated at the outset on his father's desire to purchase as much of their lands as they were willing to sell, strove to convince them that an annual income derived from the territory they did not need for their occupation and cultivation would be of greater profit than retaining to themselves large tracts simply for the purpose of hunting grounds, for which object the lands would be as open to them, he averred, after the sale, if they made it, as before. Morris concluded his speech with an offer of $100,000 for their entire lands in western New York.

The redmen were not easily persuaded to accept Morris' word that it would be beneficial for them to sell. They were less credulous now and not so readily duped about land values as they had been in their first contacts with the white men. Then too, the realization had been gradually forced upon the minds of these aborigines that land was their only means of subsistence or income, and with that gone they could demand neither respect nor recognition from the whites.

This realization of land values by the Indians was reflected in their attitude at the very outset of the council by firm resistance to all offers for the purchase of their land. Three weeks of negotiation were spent in an ineffectual attempt since the chiefs, especially Red Jacket who did most of the talking for the Indians, became

[50]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 22.

[51]Harris, *Horatio Jones*, p. 499. See also Livingston County Historical Society, *A History of the Treaty of Big Tree.*

increasingly more hostile to the idea. Thomas Morris, however, had lived long with the Indians and knew their fickle character. With subtle dexterity this young man used his knowledge of the influence the Indian women had, as mothers of the warriors, by holding a separate council with them and distributing to them a liberal quantity of presents and trinkets to win their approval. By such devious methods, Morris at length succeeded in bringing the chiefs and sachems to terms. And on September 15, 1797, a treaty was signed with the Senecas which conveyed, under sanction of the United States government, to Robert Morris all that tract of land, with the exception of a number of reservations, lying west of the pre-emption line within New York state which had not been included in the Indian purchase made by Phelps and Gorham.

The Indians accepted for this great plot of land $100,000 to be paid in installments and to be invested in the United States bank in the name of the President for the Seneca Nation. The investment of the money in the United States bank had been stipulated by President Washington as necessary before Colonel Wadsworth could give the government assent to the treaty.

The ten reservations which were made from this deed to be held by the Seneca Indians unmolested henceforth were as follows: the Canawagus reservation of two square miles on the Genesee River; the Big Tree reservation of two square miles at the village of Big Tree; Little Beard's reservation of two square miles just south of Big Tree; Gardeau reservation of twenty-eight square miles on both sides of the Genesee River; Squawkie Hill reservation of two square miles on the Genesee River including Squakie Hill and Big Kettle towns; Caneadea reservation of sixteen square miles on the Genesee River in Allegany county; Allegany reservation of forty-two square miles on the Allegheny River near the Pennsylvania border; Cattaraugus reservation of forty-two square miles, lying along Cattaraugus Creek; Buffalo Creek reservation, the largest, of one hundred thirty square miles; and Tonawanda reservation of seventy square miles on the Tonawanda Creek.[52]

A Tuscarora reservation was not mentioned in the treaty of Big Tree. In 1808 the Senecas gave to the Tuscaroras by deed six hundred and forty acres or one square mile of land on the ridge

[52] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 627.

near Lewiston. This deed from the Senecas stated that the tract was reserved from the sale to Morris in 1797 but no such exception is mentioned in the treaty. However, subsequently the successors of Morris, the Holland Land Company, not only recognized the title but also gave to the Tuscarora nation twelve hundred and eighty additional acres adjacent to the Seneca grant.[53] About the year 1800, the Tuscaroras were able to sell the title to the lands they held in North Carolina for $15,000 which was deposited with the United States in trust. In 1804 Congress authorized the Secretary of War to purchase with the fund 4,329 acres from the Holland Land Company. The additional land adjoined the lands already held by the Tuscaroras and the Secretary of War took the title of this additional land in trust but subsequently conveyed it to the Tuscaroras who now own it in fee.

In addition to these reservations the Senecas continued to use and claim another one mile square divided by the line between Allegany and Cattaraugus counties near Oil Creek.[54]

In December 1798, by act of the State legislature aliens were allowed to hold lands and this enabled the Holland owners, including Wilhelm Willink and four associates, to take title to the lands from their agents. On June 20, 1802, at Buffalo Creek the Seneca Indians conveyed the Cattaraugus reservation, as described in the Big Tree Treaty, to the Dutch proprietors and took in exchange from the Holland land owners new lands, of an equal amount to the original reserve, lying on both sides of the Cattaraugus Creek. This new tract became known by the same name, the Cattaraugus reservation. In 1803 Oliver Phelps purchased from the Senecas at Buffalo Creek the Little Beard reservation for $1,200.[55]

We can now trace briefly the history of the Cayuga, Onondaga and Oneida reservations. The Cayugas had by 1795 sold the reservations made in the Albany Treaty of 1789 which left them without any land. Some of the Cayugas went to Grand River reservation in Ontario where there are now seven or eight hundred.[56] Others went to Wisconsin while some remnants of the

[53]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 13. [54]*Ibid.*, p. 21.

[55]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 22.

[56]*Handbook of Indians of Canada* (Appendix to the 10th Report of the Geographical Board), p. 83.

nation remained in New York living on the Seneca and other Iroquois reserves.

By 1817 the Onondagas had sold most of the land they had reserved by the treaty with the State in 1788. In 1822 they made their last sale to the State of 1,800 acres, retaining a reservation of about 6,100 acres which they still occupy.[57]

Between 1795 and 1812 the Oneidas had conveyed most of their lands to the State. In 1805 the Christian and pagan parties agreed to divide their remaining lands into two sections. And by eleven treaties from the time of their division until 1846 the two Oneida parties conveyed their lands in separate parcels to the State and went mainly to Wisconsin and Canada, reserving only 350 acres which those few who remained now occupy. By an act of the State legislature in 1843 these remaining Oneida Indians were authorized to hold their lands in severalty so there is consequently no Oneida reservation now in New York State.[58]

Thus we see that the nations of the Iroquois confederacy were scattered and their domains separated by the wedge of white settlers. The aborigines who had been indigenous to the soil of New York State were melting away before the pale faces with a rapidity that augured their early extinction.

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Buffalo, N. Y.

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[57]Lindquist, G. E. E., *The Red Man in the United States*, p. 403.
[58]New York, *Indian Problem*, p. 9.

OBITUARIES

Henry Barnard, banker and manufacturer, died at his home in Rochester, March 30, 1930, following an apoplectic stroke.

He was born in Rochester, February 1, 1850, the son of Henry and Emily (Colby) Barnard. He was a grandson of Jehiel Barnard whose marriage to Delia Scrantom, daughter of Hamlet Scrantom, pioneer settler, was the first to take place in Rochester.

Mr. Barnard organized the firm of Barnard & Simonds, chair manufacturers, and was president and treasurer of the company. He was the senior member of the firm of Barnard, Porter & Remington, dealers in paints and oils, and was a director of the Rochester & Genesee Valley Railroad. He was also interested in agriculture which he called his hobby, and operated a farm of 150 acres on the lake shore.

In 1912 Mr. Barnard was elected a director of the Lincoln National Bank. When this was merged with the Alliance Bank in 1920, he was made a director of the new institution, and on May 6, 1927 he succeeded the late James G. Cutler as chairman of the board, and carried on the same traditions for service which marked Mr. Cutler's administration. He retired from the chairmanship in January 1930, but still remained a director.

He was a member of the Genesee Valley, Country, Rochester, and Seneca Clubs, Rochester Chamber of Commerce, United States Chamber of Commerce, National Manufacturers Association, Rochester Historical Society and Memorial Art Gallery.

Always a generous giver to charitable funds, Mr. Barnard was a large contributor to the University of Rochester and other educational institutions. His interest in ambitious students was demonstrated by his creation of a fund to aid those who needed assistance in obtaining a college education. He was a lifelong member of the First Unitarian Church of Rochester. His connection with it began when as a boy he pumped the pipe organ, and from that time he served in nearly every capacity in which a layman can act. He and his wife were the first couple married in the new edifice, he was on the Board of Trustees and was also chairman of its property committee. He took a keen interest in the Hillside Home for Children and was a member of its Board of Trustees.

"He had a tolerance of viewpoint which endeared him to those with whom he did not agree. He had a kindliness of heart that meant much to the unfortunate with whom he came in contact. He kept up his activities to the end. He served his community, his church and his friends with loyalty, and he did it all with a generosity of spirit and a sense of humor that were delightful."

On October 9th, 1872, at Rochester, he was married to Miss Eugenia Davison, who died several years ago. He is survived by two daughters—Mrs. Aras J. Williams of Utica, and Mrs. Joseph S. Porter of Portland, Conn.; also three sisters—Mrs. Henry Madden of Buffalo, Miss Ella Barnard of Rochester, and Mrs. Charles Miller of Dansville.

George Douglas Emerson, one of Buffalo's oldest and most respected citizens, died January 6, 1930, in the General Hospital, following a long illness.

A descendant of a family long identified with frontier history, Mr. Emerson was born at Armor, Erie county, December 4, 1847, the son of Nelson and Martha J. (Brayman) Emerson. The family home of the Emersons had been in Lebanon, Conn., for nearly a hundred years, but George Emerson's grandfather had settled near what is now East Aurora in 1804, and had served in the War of 1812 and on the Niagara frontier with General William Warren's regiment.

Mr. Emerson's family moved to Buffalo in 1852 where he attended school and was graduated from the Hutchinson Central High School, July 2, 1863, and at the time of his death he was the holder of the oldest diploma of any boy graduated from any of Buffalo's high schools. He was the organizer and first president of the Hutchinson Central Alumni Association.

He entered the employ of the New York Central Railroad at Buffalo, in 1874, and remained with the company for about thirteen years. In 1887 he became identified with the Central Traffic Association of Buffalo, with which he continued for several years as an executive.

From his early youth he had been interested in public affairs and had been a Republican from his majority. During the census of 1890, he was appointed special agent of the United States Census Bureau, and in January 1895 he became secretary of the

Republican General Committee of Erie county, serving in that capacity until 1904. He was deputy clerk of the New York State Senate from January 1, 1896, to Dec. 31, 1904, and then became the first incumbent of a new office, that of Commissioner of Elections of Erie county, which he held for six years. His appointment as member of the Perry Victory Centennial Commission of the State of New York came in 1910 and when, by act of Congress in 1919 this became the Perry's Victory Memorial Commission, he still retained his membership. From March 18, 1918, to March 31, 1919, Mr. Emerson served as chief clerk on Draft Division 10 of Buffalo.

From October 1, 1919, until March 31, 1920, he was in charge of the publicity department of the Episcopal Church's nation-wide campaign. He compiled a history of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Buffalo for 1903–1927.

He was a member of Washington Lodge F. & A. M., Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, General Society of the War of 1812, and Chapin Post 2 G. A. R. of which he was an associate member.

On December 11, 1872, Mr. Emerson was married to Susan K. Corwin of Buffalo. She died March 28, 1915. He is survived by one sister, Miss Alice Emerson of Buffalo.

Peter Junkersfeld, of Scarsdale, N. Y., died at his home on March 18, 1930. He was born at Sadorus, Ill., October 17, 1869, the son of Peter Joseph and Mary Josephine (Schmitz) Junkersfeld.

At the age of eight years he entered the Langley district school where he remained for three years. From 1884 to 1889 most of his time was spent on the farm with short terms during the winter at the West Side High School, Champaign Business College, and Northern Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso. He entered the University of Illinois in 1891, and graduated in 1895 with the degree of B. S., and was awarded degree of E. E. in 1909.

In 1895 he became associated with the Chicago Edison Company where he worked his way up from the position of machinist's helper until in 1909 he was Electrical Engineer and Assistant Vice-President. In 1916 he was elected President of the Association of Edison Illuminating Companies.

As the possibility of the United States becoming involved in the European war became more evident, he accepted the appointment by the Secretary of the Navy as a member of the Board of Directors of Industrial Preparedness for Illinois. In February 1917, he became a member of the Officers Reserve Corps and on June 7th he began his career of active service for the United States in the World War. He attained the rank of colonel and his chief duties were in the construction of cantonments, camps, hospitals, warehouses, and munition plants, all within the United States. On July 15, 1919, Mr. Junkersfeld was presented with the Distinguished Service Medal by the Secretary of War.

In April 1919, shortly after being mustered out of military service, Mr. Junkersfeld resigned from the Commonwealth Edison Company and became associated with Stone & Webster, Inc., of Boston, as engineering manager. Three years later he became a member of the firm of McClellan & Junkersfeld, New York, whose activities were later merged with those of the division of construction and engineering of Stone & Webster, of which he was made Vice-President, a position he held at the time of his death.

He was the author of many technical papers, among which might be mentioned "Multiple vs. Independent Operation of Power Plants," "Effect of Load Factor on Steam Station Costs," and "General Review of Current Practice in Steam Generating Stations," this last having been presented before the First World Power Conference at London, July 1924.

He was a past president of the Association of Edison Illuminating Companies; past vice-president of American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and Western Society of Engineers; a member of American Society Mechanical Engineers, American Society Civil Engineers, National Electric Light Association, American Electrical Railway Association, Franklin Institute of Philadelphia and Edison Pioneers.

On June 19, 1901, Mr. Junkersfeld was married to Anna C. Boyle of Champaign, Ill. Besides his wife, he is survived by two daughters, Misses Florence Rita and Mary Josephine Junkersfeld.

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS

New York. By James Fenimore Cooper. (William Farquhar Payson, New York, 1930. Pp. 63.)

This will appear to be a strange book to most students of New York history. It seems that in 1864 New Yorkers organized a gigantic Metropolitan Fair for the purpose of raising funds for what was the Red Cross of the Civil War. In connection therewith was published a daily literary magazine, called *The Spirit of the Fair.* Cooper was at the height of his fame at this time, though dead a dozen years. He had written a work called *The Towns of Manhattan* but it had never been printed. It was now featured as a serial in the new journal and ran through eight of the seventeen numbers. But it was not published in book form and to the public remained unknown until its present appearance. Professor Dixon Ryan Fox writes an explanatory introduction. It seems that *The Towns of Manhattan* is more prophecy than history. His sentiments were quite nationalistic and his arrow is shot at both the abolitionists and the Calhounites. Sovereignty, he contended, rested in the nation and not in the states. An aristocrat at heart, he criticises democracy as wasteful and inclined to tyranny. With little confidence in the "honest farmer," he grumbled at the difficulties encountered by a country gentleman. There are many allusions to conditions in Europe and predictions of the future greatness of New York. After running through eight issues, Cooper's manuscript was destroyed by fire, and consequently the wisdom contained in the later parts have been entirely lost. The portion reprinted in this volume is well worth preserving as a specimen of Cooper's historical and philosophical writing.

A. C. F.

The Political Career of General James H. Lane. By W. H. Stephenson. (Vol. III of the Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society.) (Kansas State Printer, 1930. Pp. 196.)

James H. Lane went from Indiana to Kansas in 1855 and became one of the outstanding Kansans. He served in the Mexican War as colonel, was elected Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, went to Congress and the U. S. Senate, and became a Brigadier

General in the Civil War. It was Lane's relations with John Brown that makes his checkered career of interest to New Yorkers. The author has made use of New York newspapers and the names of New York statesmen come into the biography frequently. Only words of praise can be given this well-written and thoroughly documented biography.

Heroes of the Battle Road. By Frank Wilson Cheney Hersey. (Perry Walton, Boston, 1930. Pp. 39.)

Any person who opens this attractive little volume and sees the strong face of Paul Revere will wish to read it through from cover to cover. And he will not be disappointed. It is a gem of historical writing—vivid, picturesque, informing and inspiring. The narrative is divided into Night, Dawn, Afternoon and Morning. The account of Paul Revere's ride is a masterpiece of narration. The capture of Paul Revere, the escape of Samuel Prescott and the heroism of Mary Hartwell are incidents that stir the blood. The Appendix contains the contemporary story of Amos Baker of Lincoln, a survivor of Concord, and other original documents. The book as a whole is a model of what can be made out of local history which in the telling becomes national and world history. The many illustrations are veritable works of art. An index would have been useful.

The New York Red Book. Edited by James Malcolm. (J. B. Lyon Co., Albany, 1930. Pp. 666.)

This is a handy, useful book of facts about the Empire State; and it grows better from year to year under the guidance of its editor. In addition to what might be called the standard information, this volume includes a directory of New York newspapers, a digest of the old-age security law, a list of community forests, an index of the book service of the State Library, a list of voting machines in the state, new election returns, and biographical material. A good table of contents and index make the contents easily available. In either the *Red Book* or the *Legislative Manual* there should be printed a list of the town officers throughout the state.

Buffalo Historical Society, *Publications*, Vol. XXX, 1930. Edited by Dr. Frank H. Severance, Secretary. (The Society, Buffalo, N. Y. Pp. 315).

This volume is devoted to obituaries of deceased members, among them Hon. Henry W. Hill, President of the Society from 1910 to 1929; to portraits of the Board of Managers; and to the record of the dedication of the enlarged building of the Society on May 29, 1929. President Hill presided and gave an excellent address before introducing Mayor Frank X. Schwab, Vice-Chancellor Adelbert Moot, Dr. Alexander C. Flick, Seymour H. Knox, Chauncey J. Hamlin and Dr. John H. Finley, whose addresses and remarks are included in the volume. President Hill's Annual Address covers 141 pages. The Secretary's Report and other accounts of the activities of the Society fill the remainder of the volume.

Journal of Abijah Willard of Lancaster, Mass. Edited by Dr. J. C. Webster. (Reprinted from Collections of New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 13, 1930. Pp. 76.)

Abijah Willard was born in Lancaster, Mass., in 1724 and saw much service in the French and Indian War. In 1755 he took part in the expedition against Nova Scotia and in 1859 he was at Fort Edward and at Lake George. His Journal and Orderly Book are in the Huntington Library in California. They were sold in Boston in 1908. The Orderly Book contains numerous references to the State of New York but the Journal is devoted to the expedition in Nova Scotia. Students who are interested in the last colonial war will find this Journal a new source. In 1783 Willard petitioned Sir Guy Carleton at New York City for a grant of 5,000 acres to compensate him for his services as a Loyalist in the Revolution. Sir Guy cut the request down to 1,000 acres. After going to England, he returned to New York in 1784 and then went to St. John with other refugees where he died in 1789.

Bits of Cambridge History. By Samuel Francis Batchelder. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930. Pp. 349. $4.)

Those who have read some of these papers as separate pamphlets will be glad to have them in one attractive volume. The first

papers on "Burgoyne and His Officers in Cambridge, 1777–1778" will be read by New Yorkers with particular interest and instruction. It is a rather exhaustive monograph with an accompanying map showing the parole limits of the officers. It adds a new chapter to the Burgoyne Campaign. The monograph on "The Washington Elm Tradition" is an excellent example of historical criticism used to destroy a popular delusion which grew up in a perfectly natural way and has been commonly accepted as fact. "The Adventures of John Nutting" shows the strenuous life of a Cambridge Loyalist. It is unfortunate that the volume was not given an index.

In Search of America. By Lucy Lockwood Hazard. (Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1930. Pp. 586. $3.75.)

Here is a new type of American History, a compilation, but fresh, invigorating and suggestive. The author searches for America through biography. The author has tried to reveal America by selecting passages from all sorts of persons—the frontiersman, pioneer, traveller, poet, diarist, moralist, psychoanalyst, immigrant, Indian, Negro, lumberjack, sailor, cowboy, statesman, educator, bad man, city man, easterner, westerner and visitor. As a result one does get a many-sided picture of the American mind and conscience. It will be a useful book for students and others who need to have their jaded interest in things American reinvigorated.

Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society. Edited by Robert J. Spence. (The Pennsylvania Society, New York, 1930. Pp. 107.)

This volume, like its many predecessors, contains the names of officers and committees and gives a full account of the 31st annual meeting and festival with toasts and addresses in 1929; and also the record of the Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York for 1929.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. (The Society, Worcester, Mass., 1930. Pp. 473.)

One always looks forward with interest to the publication of each valuable volume of this Society. Mention is made of the gift of

$5,000 by Mrs. Frances Crocker Sloan to establish the Isaiah Thomas Fund. There is an obituary of James Benjamin Wilbur who died in New York City April 28, 1929. The Society has assets of over $928,000 and in its library more than 467,000 titles. Perhaps the most interesting paper in the volume is "The Journal of an African Slaver, 1789–1792" with an introduction by George A. Plimpton. Another paper on "Early Worship in North America" by Charles A. Place has much to say about New York.

New York State Laws Relating to Cemeteries. (The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1930. Pp. 14.)

This is a pamphlet prepared by the Division of Archives and History and intended to awaken a deeper interest throughout the state in the care and preservation of the old cemeteries. Copies may be obtained by writing to the State Historian.

History of the Valley of the Hudson, 1609–1930, edited by Nelson Greene, is in course of preparation. It will cover sixteen Hudson River counties. A prospectus has been issued by the S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., of Chicago giving an outline, table of contents, recommendations and numerous illustrations.

The *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association for 1927 and 1928 printed by the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1929, in one volume has just been distributed. 229 pp. There is an excellent index.

The *Biennial Year Book* of the Ohio Society of New York has just been published. This is the 30th edition.

At the head of the Roster is the following list of honorary members:

Orville Wright, Charles Dick, Thomas A. Edison, Clarence R. Edwards, Andrew Squire, Charles G. Dawes, Charles B. Galbreath, Myers Y. Cooper, Simeon D. Fess.

Then follows a list of 632 resident members, including the names of many Ohioans who have attained eminence and fame in the city of New York. The non-resident membership list, which numbers over 500, is made up in large part of the names of worthy sons of Ohio now resident chiefly within that state, but with representatives from almost every state of the Union.

The Ohio Society of New York is said to be the oldest and most active association of this character in the United States. It was organized November 20, 1885. Among those who have longest been members, with dates of admission, are: William S. Hawk, 1885; Henry W. Taft, 1886; John B. Leavitt, 1886; G. D. M. Peixotto, 1887; Ellis Warner, 1892; John D. Rockefeller, 1896.

The Battle of Klock's Field, Oct. 19, 1780 is the title of a well-written pamphlet by Lou D. MacWethy, publisher of the St. Johnsville (N. Y.) *Enterprise and News*. Dr. W. N. P. Dailey's article on the Battle of Stone Arabia is included. A map showing Sir John Johnson's Raid, and another of the Battlefield add to the value of the brochure.

"*Who's Who in Government*" was issued on October 15, 1930, by The Biographical Research Bureau, New York.

Reports and Proceedings of N. Y. Sons of the Revolution for 1929–30, 60 pp., gives the officers, reports of officials, obituaries, a list of new members and an address by James M. Beck on "Washington and the Constitution." The Society has a surplus of $263,000. Its essay contest for the year 1930 is on "George Rogers Clark and the winning of the North Western Territory, 1777–1779."

In a study of *Trade Unionism in the Electric Light and Power Industry* by C. F. Marsh, published as No. 2, Vol. XVI, 204 pp., by the University of Illinois, there are numerous references to New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and the New York Edison Co.

Diary of Francis Dickens is the title of a 23 page brochure edited by Vernon LaChance and printed as Bulletin No. 59 by Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. The diary relates to experiences in the Northwest during the latter part of the 19th century.

Pictorial Ohio, 48 pages, with map and illustrations has been published by the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society in collaboration with the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio.

Students of Mohawk Valley history will be glad to learn that Howard Swiggett of New York City is preparing an exhaustive history of Walter Butler. He has unearthed much new material and is now seeking authentic information concerning Butler's physical appearance. Mr. Swiggett may be reached at 328 Broadway.

C. Hale Sipe of Butler, Pa., announces a supplement to his book on *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania.* It may be obtained from the author for $1.

Old Palatine Church, 36 pages, has just been issued by the *Enterprise and News* of St. Johnsville, N. Y., for fifty cents.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PERSONALS

H. H. Noble of Essex, N. Y., formerly connected with the State Historian's office under Hugh Hastings and now employed in the Customs Office in New York City, continues to show a deep interest in the historical activities of the State, and of the Association. Recently he presented to the State Historian's files twelve copies of the *Annual Report of the State Historian, 1896*, which are rare.

Mansfield J. French of Syracuse, N. Y., is making a careful search for materials on the French family. Persons who are interested are invited to write him.

Dr. Robert W. Bingham, Director of the Museum of the Buffalo Historical Society, has given a radio talk on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779.

Alexander M. Stewart of Rochester, N. Y., is making a special study of the activities of the Jesuit missionaries to the "Upper Iroquois" and particularly of the life of Stephen de Corbeil.

Capt. W. J. Walker of Albany, N. Y., has sent numerous historic clippings to be filed in the State Historian's Office.

Michael J. O'Brien, historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, was honored with the degree of LL.D. by the National University of Ireland.

It is a pleasure to announce that our esteemed member Dr. D. Havelock Fisher has fully recovered and is again actively engaged in historical research. He is now located at Hotel Endicott, 81st St. and Columbus Ave., New York City.

Dean Hugh Baker who has been persuaded to return as the head of the State School of Forestry at Syracuse University comes of an ancestry that came from Vermont, settled in Monroe County, N. Y., and then moved on to Michigan. His mother was born in Batavia. His grandfather was President of Yale.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

The New York Methodist Historical Society through an appeal printed in the *Christian Advocate*, September 25, 1930, is seeking to increase its membership and materials—books, newspapers, manuscripts, and museum objects. H. K. Carroll is Secretary.

The Kings County Historical Society on August 24, 1930, observed the 154th anniversary of the Battle of Long Island.

The Rockland County Society on September 21, 1930, dedicated near Haverstraw, N. Y., a monument to mark the meeting place of Arnold and André on September 21, 1780.

Friends of history throughout the State will welcome the revival of the Ulster County Historical Society which has been chartered by the Regents, September 18, 1930. Judge G. D. B. Hasbrouck and Judge A. T. Clearwater have been the leaders in this movement. The Society held its annual meeting at Kingston on October 16, 1930. Judge Clearwater presided as honorary president. Among the luncheon speakers were Mrs. Rachel McC. Horton, Hamlin Garland, Poultney Bigelow, Mrs. Louise Seymour Hasbrouck Zimm, Mrs. Olive B. Sarre, and Abram E. Jansen. The following officers were elected:

Honorary president—A. T. Clearwater.

President—G. D. B. Hasbrouck.

Vice presidents—Admiral Francis J. Higginson, Martin Cantine, Mrs. Harcourt J. Pratt, Frank J. LeFevre.

Secretary—Edward L. Merritt.

Treasurer—Theodore Brink.

The following were named trustees: Emily C. Chadbourne, Stone Ridge; Alphonso T. Clearwater, Edward Coykendall, John D. Schoonmaker, Raymond S. Crispell, Edward L. Merritt, Kingston; Frank J. LeFevre, New Paltz; Olive B. Sarre, Napanoch; G. D. B. Hasbrouck, Kingston.

The report of Theodore Brink, treasurer, showed receipts to date of $622. The society has 158 members, of whom six are life members and three are sustaining members.

Upon taking the chair Judge Hasbrouck delivered an impressive historical address which was printed in full in the Kings-

ton *Daily Freeman*, October 17, 1930, which also prints one of a series of important articles on the historic houses of Ulster Co.—this one describing the Jacob Rutsen House at Rosendale from the pen of Alan MacKenzie. This issue of the *Freeman* likewise presents a sketch of the life of Congressman Barent Gardenier by Edward L. Merritt.

The *Magazine* of the S. A. R., for October, 1930, gives an account of the activities of the society during the past autumn. Particular attention is devoted to the observance at Kings Mountain October 7, 1930, the "Embarking of Gen. Rochambeau's Army in 1780" and the Massachusetts Tercentennary.

Members of the Dutch Settlers Society of Albany, at their first fall meeting at the Albany Institute of History and Art, elected six new members, discussed club business and heard Mrs. Laurie A. Post of New York city tell the history of a walnut chest with which Anneke Jans Bogardus traveled from Holland to Albany in 1630.

After Mrs. Post's talk, members had an opportunity to inspect the chest, considered one of the best specimens of old Dutch handwork now in America and valued by Mrs. Post at $20,000. The boards in it are one inch thick and the brass escutcheon and automatic lock Mrs. Post said, represent the period about 1600. The chest has been handed down through the family to Mrs. Post, who is a descendant of the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, second husband of Anneke.

Edward J. Slingerland, president, conducted the meeting. William V. Hannay, former president, reported on the recent visit of a party of visiting Hollanders to Albany.

Mrs. Post's chest has been loaned to the Institute until May.

The Minnesota Historical Society is making a survey of all historic sites, buildings and markers. Dr. Solon J. Buck is directing the work which is proceeding county by county. Promises of hearty support has come from all over the state.

The Cohoes Historical Society under the guidance of Hugh P. Graham, Secretary, on August 22, 1930, devoted an evening at the Van Schaick Mansion in memory of Gov. George Clinton, who

spent August 22, 1777, at this historic house. The speaker of the occasion was Peter Nelson, of Albany.

The Tioga County Historical Society has received recently the Fort Sumter flag, fragments of the Merrimac and Monitor, some early waistcoats, an old gold watch, and a collection of early guns.

The Regents on July 17, 1930, voted a charter to the Alice T. Miner Colonial Collection at Chazy, N. Y.

For a number of years the Schenectady County Historical Society has had appropriated to its use $750 annually by the county board of supervisors. This year a request has been made to increase that sum in order to enlarge the Society's usefulness.

The Dutchess County Historical Society on September 17, 1930, took its thirteenth historical pilgrimage to Blithewood and The Grove, old residence-sites. Luncheon was served at Beekman Arms in Rhinebeck.

The History Teachers Section of the Southern District, New York State Teachers Association, on October 10, 1930, at Elmira discussed the following papers: "Is Local History Worth Teaching in the Schools?" by A. C. Flick; "History as a Cultural Subject," by Prof. Amy M. Gilbert; and "History Methods" by Mrs. W. H. Vanderhof.

The Mohawk Valley Historic Society at its annual meeting October 16, 1930, reelected Mayor Harry V. Bush as President, appointed committees to arrange for coming sesquicentennial observances, to erect markers, and to obtain a memorial for Gen. Floyd, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Family reunions have come to be quite common during the summer and fall in all parts of the State and serve a useful purpose in stimulating interest in regional history.

Mr. Orrin E. Bonney, field chairman, has sent us a report of his society which will interest many in other counties:

The Madison County Historical Society was organized in 1899 and incorporated in 1900 and has a membership of more than two hundred. It has also a large and growing collection of historical objects, records and documents, several thousand dollars invested, and the prospect of a permanent home.

Monthly meetings are held, except in August; during the winter the meetings are in Oneida or Canastota; as the spring advances they are held in various parts of the county, and if possible in new places.

The meeting includes a brief business program, music and an address by some well-informed speaker, usually on a historical theme, though some allied subject is occasionally treated. After the program a social hour has proven of great value. These meetings are customarily held at the homes of members, with an occasional dinner or banquet at some convenient public place. The Year Book is made out in advance and, when the meeting is held at a private residence, the program so far as possible is placed in the hands of the hosts. When the meeting is in a public place, the program is put in charge of a local committee, which is encouraged to utilize the history of the locality. Every community possesses a local history which should be preserved and invariably there is competent and gifted local talent.

A number of meetings have been held in Hamilton and Cazenovia both of them cultural centers which are well able to provide fine programs. Outside speakers have included Dr. A. C. Flick, Prof. H. O. Whitnell of Colgate, and Mrs. Marion Nicholl Rawson. Some of the most delightful meetings, however, have been held in the smaller communities where subjects of purely local interest were discussed. One of these at Nelson very interestingly covered the history of its pioneers, local points and place names, splendidly set forth by local people. In September of last year such a meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Upham in Georgetown was attended by 120 people, and Mr. Upham gave a very delightful informal talk on the history of the old families of Georgetown. In June of this year a meeting was held in the Methodist Church at Madison, where Mr. Louis Fuess, our esteemed county treasurer, spoke of the history of the organization known as the Protective League, which sprang into life more than 100 years ago, and was created for the protection of the communities against the

raids of horse thieves and other bandit gangs at that time ranging through the county.

The Madison County Historical Pilgrimage was held on August 8, 1930, and the participants included the Farm Bureau, Scouts, Historical Society and numerous other organizations. Gathering at the Bitz farm, on the western border of the county and a short distance south of Bridgeport, early in the forenoon, Professor Tyler of Cazenovia introduced Peter Nelson of Albany who told the story of the old Indian fort built by Sir William Johnson in 1756, the landing of Sir John Johnson in 1780 and the capture of Capt. Vrooman and his party of 50 men on the return of Sir John from his raid on the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys.

Professor Tyler displayed Indian relics—an iron tomahawk and knife of the historic period and two stone corn mortars belonging to the farm were shown.

At ten o'clock, the procession left the Bitz farm bound for Nichols Pond. En route, attention was called to the former worthless Tuscarora swamp that has been turned into valuable muck lands and pasturage; to the original Erie canal of 1825 and the subsequent Erie canal of 1835. Striking the Old Indian Trail and Seneca Turnpike which went westward over the hill to Chittenango, we were within the boundaries of the old Indian village of Canaseraga, the capital of the Tuscaroras. From there we traveled along the trail taken by the detachment of Colonel Gansevoort returning from Sullivan's campaign against the Indians of Central New York.

Passing through Quality Hill, once the main settlement when Canastota was "The Lonely Pine Tree," Clockville, settled in 1792, Ingall's Corners and Alene, we at length came to Nichols Pond where a basket lunch was enjoyed in the welcome shade of the trees.

After lunch, the party formed a large circle in an open space. Professor Tyler introduced former supervisor D. D. Norton of Cazenovia who spoke on what was being done to make the site a state park. Dr. Bates then talked at length on the Champlain Battle Site at Nichols Pond and on the characteristics of the Indians and the significance of Indian culture.

At this place history was made. Champlain's dreams of a New France here were shattered. The Iroquois Confederation became

the foes of New France and formed a sturdy barrier behind which the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were allowed to develop. The Six Nations quickly saw the advantage of firearms and soon began exchanging their furs for them with the Dutch traders. They almost annihilated the Hurons and the Susquehanna tribes and absorbed the survivors. Here was started that embryo which later in its development caused this section to be populated with English speaking people. The whole range of civilization was changed by the defeat of Champlain at Nichols Pond in 1615, making this date of equal importance in history to the landing of Columbus at San Salvadore in 1492 and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620.

The Onondaga Indians, headed by Chief Jesse Lyons, Prime Minister of the Six Nations, staged three of their interpretive dances after which the girl scouts gave the salute to the flag and the assemblage joined in singing one verse of America. Chief W. H. Rockwell of the Oneidas gave a series of Indian translations among which were: Canastota, meaning a distinctive pine tree standing alone, continually; Cazenovia, Owahgena, fishing ground, where the black ash timber grew that was used for making baskets and used for walls in their homes; Canaseraga, building; Chittenango, open space surrounded by little valleys and hills for protection; Oneida, to drag around or drag along on the ground—having no wheel. It was at Oneida they first saw the fast moving trains. Chief Rockwell presented an Oneida Indian World War Veteran.

Attention of the party was called to the Oneida rock, believed to have been a council stone in 1615. It is a long boulder in the center of a group of trees near a brook; also to the grain pits, village site and the background used for the Oneida Indian group in the State Museum at Albany.

As the line of nearly 250 cars proceeded towards Peterboro, the route passed the swamp once a part of the underground railroad that carried the escaped slaves to freedom under another flag, and led to the famous old Gerrit Smith homestead at Peterboro, linked prominently with anti-slavery days. This historic home of Gerrit Smith, the great abolitionist, is now occupied by Gerrit Smith Miller, a grandson, who imported in 1869 the first permanent herd of Holstein cattle to Madison county—the Kriemhild

herd. Attention was called to the tablet erected last summer by the New York Holstein-Friesian Association, dedicated to the herd which consisted of one bull and three cows from which the greater percentage of the 1,800,000 animals now registered in the Holstein-Friesian herd book have descended.

After the assemblage was seated in the natural amphitheater at the rear of the great house, County Judge Albert Campbell of Canastota offered a tribute to Gerrit Smith who possessed a mind and conscience so clear that he could think a half century or more in advance of the mass consciousness of the nation. Many of the ideals he worked for as a pioneer in thinking have come true and many more have still yet to come. He stood at times almost alone amid the storms of angry passions and blind prejudice, championing the causes of: Anti-Slavery, Anti-Saloon, Woman Suffrage, World Peace, Consolidation of Christian Religions, Free Trade, Abolition of Secret Societies from Politics, etc. Judge Campbell skimmed over the historical notes of interest concerning the family and estate. In describing traits oncerning Gerrit Smith, Judge Campbell remarked he was nicknamed "Sawmill" because everything seemed to move and stir around him.

Following Judge Campbell's speech, a Negro quartet sang spirituals and the party assembled again after looking over the Miller estate. The procession moved forward again for points of interest between Morrisville and Cazenovia on the Cherry Valley turnpike. Around the shores of Cazenovia Lake at different places are found sites of former Indian villages both Iroquois and their predecessors the Algonquins. Two miles westward over the hill is the Onondaga village site known as the Atwell fort and said to be of the Hiawatha period. After brief exercises on the village training green of early days the tour disbanded at Cazenovia.

The object of the tour was to create interest in historical shrines of the county. Only one-half of it could be covered this year, leaving the remaining half for the second tour in 1931.

Christine O. Atwell

PUBLICATIONS, ARTICLES, MANUSCRIPTS

It is interesting to note that during the year 1929-30 over 9,500 books on history were loaned by the State Library.

An article on "Uncle Sam" who was Samuel Wilson of Troy, N. Y., was printed in the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* of July 6, 1930, with a series of cartoons.

That indefatigable worker in local history, Percy M. Van Epps, Local Historian of the Town of Glenville, Schenectady county, N. Y., has presented a history of "The Indian Occupation of Glenville, N. Y," as his third annual report to the town board.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* is a new publication issued by the wide-awake Columbia County Historical Society. The Society meets frequently and always has an interesting program for its thousand members. The success of the Society is due to the tireless activity of its President, Mrs. Charles James Come.

The *Quarterly* of the Ohio Historical Society for July, 1930, gives a history of how the famous picture "Spirit of '76," came to be painted by Archibald M. Willard of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1876. An article on "Salmon P. Chase and the Election of 1860," includes the names of many New Yorkers.

The Albany *Knickerbocker Press* for September 22, 1930, prints an article on the mysterious disappearance of Chief Justice John Lansing, Jr., in 1929.

"The Huguenot in America," is the title of a paper by Estella Harris printed in the D. A. R. *Magazine* for August, 1930.

The First National Bank of Glens Falls, N. Y., printed a leaflet giving the following historical item prepared by our Secretary, Fred B. Richards:

In view of the interest at the present time over the attempt to build a State Highway across the Lake George Battleground Park, it might be well to devote this sketch to one episode in the history of that historic bit of ground now reposing in serene beauty.

On the 12th of July, 1776, General Gates assumed the command of the northern army, making his headquarters at Ticonderoga. His first attention was directed to the disposal and care of the hundreds of invalid troops then pouring back from Canada, the large proportion of which were suffering from small pox. In a communication to General Washington, dated July 28, he says, "Everything about the army is infected with the pestilence; the clothes, the blankets, the air, and the ground they walk upon. To put the evil from us, a general hospital is established at Fort George where there are now between two and three thousand sick, and where every infected person is immediately sent. But this care and caution have not effectually destroyed the disease here; it is, notwithstanding, continually breaking out."

Fort George as it was then known, has already figured many times in these sketches. Here the forces under Johnson had repulsed the French under Dieskau in 1755, in 1757 it was the scene of the terrible massacre at Fort William Henry, in 1758 and 1759 the British had used it as base for operations against the French, and here after his victory at Ticonderoga, Amherst built Fort George. After the French and Indian war it was abandoned as a military post and was only occupied by an officer and two men who remained to assist any military express going between New York and Canada. May 12th, 1775, two days after the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, Fort George was taken from the British by Colonel Bernard Romans.

The scene now changed from the clamor of battle to the ravage of disease and Fort George was turned into a hospital. A spacious building known as the long house, and tents were added to the overcrowded pestilential wards and barracks, and Dr. Jonathan Potts, a gentleman of culture and eminent in his profession, was put in charge. Under his management the desperate condition of affairs began to mend, and on the 18th day of September, Major Carnes reports to General Gates that "the pestilence is abating." Among those who died here at that time was Brig. General the Baron de Woedtke, and his remains, along with the hundreds if not thousands of American, British, and French soldiers of the several wars, repose in unknown graves somewhere in the grassy fields of this historic and beautiful park, over which one proposed highway would pass.

Dr. B. N. Wales of St. Andrews East, Quebec, Canada, owns a 57 page pamphlet published in England in 1874 entitled, *The Adventures of an American Lady in the War of Independence in America.* It is based on a journal kept by a sister of Lady John Johnson. Dr. Wales printed an article on this incident in the Montreal *Gazette* for September 19, 1930.

Every member of the Association should write to the State Council of Parks, 302 Broadway, New York City, asking for a copy of the booklet of 130 pp. on "New York State Parks 1930," compiled by C. L. Grant. It has much of historic interest in it and many helpful maps.

The *American Historical Review* for July 1930 published an article on, "The Stamp Act in British Politics," by W. T. Laprode and Doctor Flick's review of *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, by Hart.

The *Palimpsest* for August, 1930, printed an account of the arrival in Iowa of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon sect, and of Bishop Wilson Seeley Lewis who was born in St. Lawrence county, N. Y., July 17, 1857, and graduated from St. Lawrence University in 1880.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for June 1930 in an article on the "Distribution of Birthplaces in 1870," shows in the northern tier of Indiana counties, natives of New York constituted from 8% to 12% of the American population. A letter to Wm. H. Seward in 1863 from Gov. Harding of Utah territory is printed.

"Undepicted America," is the title of a challenging article by O. W. Firkins in the *Yale Review* for the autumn of 1930.

Scenic and Historic America for June 1930 presents an account of "The Oldest Synogogue in New York;" and an appreciation of the late Dr. Edward Lasell Partridge.

"Susan B. Anthony in Iowa," is discussed by T. P. Christensen in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July 1930.

"Some things about New Hampshire," by O. G. Hammond, 64 pages, gives a list of New York public men born in that state,

which includes Governor John A. Dix and quite a number of Congressmen.

"Russo-American Relations, 1815–1867," by B. P. Thomas, No. 2, Series XLVIII, of Johns Hopkins Studies brings in prominent New Yorkers like Van Buren, W. L. Marcy and W. H. Seward.

The John Hancock Life Insurance Co. of Boston has issued a pamphlet of 20 pages on "John Jay, First Chief Justice" for free distribution.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for October 1930 gives the history of the Van Zant, Carmer and Thatcher families; the Federal Census of 1800 for Rockland County, N. Y.; the Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York City; Dutchess County wills; and Montgomery county tombstone inscriptions.

The Westchester County Historical Society's *Bulletin*, for July 1930, reports the death of Charles J. Dunlap, president of the Society on July 10—one of the most active and intelligent friends of local history in the state. Reginald P. Bolton presents a paper on "Bolton Priory at Pelham Manor." There are articles on Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, and Wolfert Ecker.

Members of the Association may read with profit "The Beginning of British Trade at Michilimackinac" written by Marjorie G. Jackson and printed in *Minnesota History* for September 1930.

"Noteworthy Maps No. 3" is the title of a 33 page pamphlet printed by the Library of Congress giving a description of four New York maps acquired in 1927–28.

The D. A. R. *Magazine* for October 1930 prints "Autumn Questing for Historic Surroundings," by Mabel L. Ives which includes New York State.

The *Geographical Review* for October 1930 prints a discussion of "The First Map with the Name America" by Louis C. Karpinski.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October 1930 contains "The Journal of Dr. Daniel Shute, Surgeon in the

Revolution" edited by E. A. Carter; "Lincoln's Pioneer Father" by L. A. Warren and obituaries of Henry Barnard of Rochester, N. Y., William Henry Miner of Chazy, N. Y., Edward L. Partridge of New York City.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September 1930 publishes the "Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford" whose father, Andrew Jackson Davidson, was born in Norwich, Chanango county, N. Y., in 1814 and who went west as a young man.

The *News-Letter* of the National Society U. S. Daughters of 1812 for September 1930 gives the reports of the national officers, a history of the Society by Mrs. C. F. R. Jenne, and the activities of the various state organizations. The Society has had made a transcript of the records at Ottawa Canada—about 3000 folios—giving the list of American prisoners on British prison ships in the War of 1812.

"The opposition to the State Parks," is the title of a thoughtful and constructive brochure by Robert Moses, reprinted from the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society for October 1930 gives a sketch of the lives of "Some 19th Century Painters" with reproductions of their work, by Dr. John E. Stillwell. Some 18th century cabinet-makers are discussed by H. E. Gillingham.

Museum Notes is the title of a new publication begun by the Buffalo Historical Society. It appears bimonthly and is edited by Dr. R. W. Bingham, Director of the Museum. Nos. 1 and 2 have appeared. Among the items of special interest are: "Red Jacket and Ely Parker," "Early Buffalo Gunsmiths," "A Pioneer Violin-Maker of Buffalo" and "Old American Glass."

Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia on October 16, 1930, sold at public auction letters of Grover Cleveland, Chester A. Arthur, Millard Fillmore, Theodore Roosevelt, Martin Van Buren, John Burroughs and other New Yorkers.

The North Tonawanda (N. Y.) *News* for July 22, 1930, printed a short story on "The Capture of Stony Point," by Anne Byron.

The *National Republic* for August 1930 presents articles on Paul Jones and Rufus King.

In the Binghamton *Press* for September 25, 1930, appeared an article on "Jedediah Smith, Pioneer Soldier and Explorer," of Bainbridge, N. Y., written by Joseph C. Knox Jr., of Walton, N. Y.

Six volumes of Christ Church, Ballston Spa, records from 1792 to 1915 have been placed in the manuscript room of the State Library at Albany.

Many of our members will be interested in the article on "Madame Montour" by J. P. Penny Jr., printed in volume 13, number 1, of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*.

The *Quarterly* of the Westchester County Historical Society for October 1930 presents "A Westchester House of History," by Dixon Ryan Fox; "The Background of Westchester History," by Otto Hufeland; "The Odell Inn, Farm and Family," by Wm. S. Hadaway; "Hammond House Notes," by Marion Osgood Fox; and other items of historic significance.

The Canajoharie (New York) *Courier*, for July 23, 1930, printed an informing article from the late Rufus A. Grider on "The Early Navigation of the Mohawk."

The Rome (New York) *Sentinel* on July 23, 1930, began a series of articles on the Mohawk Valley from Spafford's *Gazetteer* printed in 1813.

The *News Review* is the title of a school paper issued by the Macmillan Co., of New York City to supply digested current events to school children. It contains many historic items.

The *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, N. Y., for September 14, 1930, presents an interesting illustrated article on "Duanesburg—Dream of a Great City," from the pen of Henry E. Christman.

The New York Public Library *Bulletin* for September 1930 contains Part V of "A Cooperative List of Manhattan Maps."

Miss Dorothy Ducas of *McCall's Magazine* is preparing an article on the "Cable Route" recently marked by the Daughters

of the War of 1812. The "Cable Route" runs about twenty miles from Big Sandy Creek to Sackets Harbor, N. Y.

Museum Echoes is the title of a publication issued bimonthly by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, edited by C. B. Galbreath, and dealing with archeological, historical and museum activities.

Two autographs of Thomas Lynch, Jr., signer of the Declaration of Independence from South Carolina, whose signatures vie with those of Button Gwinnett, signer from Georgia, as being the rarest of all the men who set their names to the charter of American liberty, were withdrawn from the auction sale of American and foreign autographs recently at the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries.

These autographs of Lynch, which are said to be more elongated than other examples of his signature, appear on the fly-leaf and title-page of volume II of the works of Flavius Josephus, published in London in 1777–8. The first signature is "Thomas Lynch." That on the title-page is "Thomas Lynch Charles Town."

At the Galleries it was said yesterday that, after the volume containing the signatures had been catalogued and placed on exhibition, the genuineness of the autographs had been questioned. In consequence the Galleries had withdrawn the autographs for further investigation.

Autographs of Lynch, like those of Gwinnett, are in demand among those who collect autographs of the Signers of the Declaration. No collection, naturally, can be complete without these autographs, which consequently bring high prices. An autograph of Lynch which was auctioned here in April, 1929, brought $9,500.

The Lynch autographs which were to have been sold in yesterday's auction are the property of Norman Howard, New York engineer, who said last night that he had bought them about six months ago from a dealer near London. He declined to disclose the price he had paid, but said the English dealer from whom he had bought them was ready to buy them back.

The other 306 lots in the auction sale brought a total of $11,829.50. The high price of the afternoon was $750, paid by Walter I. Farmer for a letter by Samuel Huntington, signer of the Declaration from Connecticut. This is thought to be the first

letter by Huntington written during 1776 to appear for sale at auction. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania gave $675 for a rare holograph manuscript by William Penn and $280 for a manuscript history of the first steam war vessel, with letters by Robert Fulton.

A letter by George Washington expressing his friendship for General Greene went to an agent for $575. The same price was paid by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for a letter by Francis Lewis, signer of the Declaration from New York, mentioning the Declaration. An early manuscript by Mozart of the aria, "Ah, piu tremar non voglio," went to E. Weybe for $375. The items in the sale came from the collections of C. J. Murray-West, John W. Haarer, Norman Howard and the late Samuel Kalisch.

The revelation that Charles Dickens, the novelist, who was born of humble parents, used, in the latter years of his life, a crest to which he had no legal or hereditary right has precipitated a discussion of the uses of armorial devices and of the term "esquire."

The College of Heralds has verified the fact that Dickens had no authority to use the crest he had adopted, one representing a lion holding between its paws a variation of the Maltese Cross. Its officers maintain that, unlike Shakespeare, Dickens never consulted the college in the matter.

Likewise, they deny the theory advanced by G. K. Chesterton, whose study of Dickens published twenty-five years ago still is regarded as the most authoritative work on the subject, that the author had resurrected the armorial bearings of some distinguished ancestor.

In either event, according to Chesterton, the act "lends color to the view that Dickens was a victim of his frustrated ambitions."

Meantime attention has been directed at the strange terms of a will left by George Jobson Marples, eighty-four years old, wealthy barrister, who bequeathed $225,000 to his fiancee, Miss Dorothy Green, forty-two years old, provided she never married and that within a year she assumed the surname and arms, badge and motto of the Marples family.

An important heraldic point is raised, inasmuch as it generally is considered that a woman cannot bear arms. The authorities maintain that in the days of the origin of heraldry no woman

wore coat armor or carried a shield in battle and thus no provision was then or has since been made for a woman to bear arms.

Lovers of romance, however, may be more interested in Miss Green's statement that if she wanted to marry, the $225,000 bequest would not deter her.

Of all the orders of chivalry, that of "esquire" is said to be the most commonly misused. Legally it is confined to eldest sons of younger sons of peers and their eldest sons in perpetual succession —the eldest sons of the sons of viscounts and barons; the sons of baronets and the eldest sons of knights.

It is also granted to "captains in the wars;" and by courtesy, barristers, members of the diplomatic service and graduates of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin may use the term.

A "gentleman"—the next degree below an esquire—is one who bears arms, but is not included in the esquire category. (From the New York *Herald-Tribune*, October 15, 1930.)

MUSEUMS, MONUMENTS AND REMAINS

With the appropriation by congress of the first installment of an authorized total of $33,000,000 for park purposes in and around the National Capital, including the George Washington Memorial parkway, a long-cherished hope is being translated into a certainty.

Without further delay surveys now may be undertaken and preliminary work begun on a park project which will reward the efforts of those who have been urging for years completion of a program made years ago for the beautification of Washington and its environs.

Nothing like the proposed memorial parkway in natural beauty and historic charm, it is said, could be developed anywhere else in this country. No European city, according to the late Viscount James Bryce, has "so noble a cataract" in its vicinity as the Great Falls of the Potomac, which is the crowning glory of the 15-mile stretch of the Upper Potomac valley now forever preserved as a national monument.

Included within the parkway is the Mount Vernon Memorial highway from Washington to Mount Vernon, authorized two years ago, now in process of construction, and completion of which is promised in time for the George Washington Bicentennial in 1932.

It is hoped that dedication at least of the memorial parkway, which ultimately will include also another highway from Fort Washington to Great Falls on the Maryland side and a bridge across the Potomac at or near Great Falls, may be a feature of the bicentennial celebration.

The memorial parkway will extend from Mount Vernon to a point above Great Falls and will include both shores and the hillsides along both banks of the Potomac, the gorge in the vicinity of which Capt. John Smith 300 years ago found "beares, deere and other beasts" and argall, an animal which, from his description, probably was a bison.

The Warwick Historical Society is making a survey of historic milestones in that region and repairing those that are broken. Other societies should have similar committees at work to save these old landmarks.

The U. S. Daughters of 1812, State of New York, under the leadership of Mrs. Frank D. Callan, President, deserve thanks and congratulations for discovering the forgotten "Cable Route" along which a huge cable was carried by patriots from Big Sandy Creek over a twenty mile road to Sackets Harbor in 1814 to equip the war-ship Superior. Through the activities of Mrs. Callan and Miss Harriet B. Fairbanks of Watertown, money was raised to erect three splendid monuments marking the "Cable Route." The beautiful bronze tablets in relief were made by the well-known artist-sculptor, Edward P. Buyck of Albany. The state contributed to the expense. The monuments were dedicated on October 2, 1930, with impressive ceremonies, the historical address being given by the State Historian.

The engineers retained by the vestry of the Historic Grace Church building on Main Street in Hastings, N. Y., explained that because of the age, size and shape of the edifice, it would not be feasible to remove it from its present foundation. The church was constructed with the aid of Admiral Farragut who gave his prize money received for valor at the Battle of Mobile Bay in the Civil War. The present building was built four years ago and it is expected that work toward completing this plant will begin anew shortly.

Mr. David Merritt, Highland, N. Y., has a large collection of local land records of the town of Lloyd, based on his work as a surveyor covering a number of years.

The Daughters of the American Revolution are backing the Fort Crailo Commission in asking Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt to include $25,000 in his budget for the restoration of old Fort Crailo. This typical and historic building could be made a valuable cultural asset of the state if restored as a period house.

The Baron Steuben Chapter D. A. R. of Bath, on October 3, 1930, dedicated the Whitman Memorial at Wheeler, N. Y. Mr. Peter Nelson made the leading historical address. Miss Fidelia S. Wheeler gave "A Sketch of the Life and Work of Dr. Marcus Whitman," Mrs. H. B. Lee, Regent, presided, and Mrs. W. Harvey Hoag served as chairman of the marker committee.

The Oregon Trail Memorial Association is asking to awaken in the East a more intelligent interest in the history of the West through an essay contest on the topic, "What My State Has Contributed to the Opening and Building of the West." Mr. George D. Pratt of our Association is providing the medals and Prof. Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia has been invited to serve as chairman of the contest in the Empire State.

In an attractive advertisement put out by a New England paper company there is a facsimile of Lafayette's letter to John Hancock, August 31, 1777. Mr. A. J. F. van Laer calls attention to the fact that the printed text of the letter contains three misreadings of the original letter.

The Museum of Fine Arts of Boston has printed a catalogue of one hundred colonial portraits with illustrations. It may be purchased for $1.50.

Mrs. Jane L. J. Brown of Ann Arbor, Mich., presented to the state through State Historian Flick a historical chart made in 1840 by her mother, Urania Ann Voorhees, while a pupil in the Albany Female Academy; and also a beautiful brown dress and old embroideries worn by Jane Leslie Tomlinson at Syracuse, N. Y. Mrs. Brown will also contribute her grandmother's red cradle. This is an excellent illustration of the deep interest taken

by New Yorkers in their native state even when they are far removed from its borders. Such objects serve the useful educational purpose of keeping the past alive.

The Essex County Branch of the American Legion passed an enthusiastic resolution calling for the extension of the policy of erecting historic markers throughout the state.

Mr. G. S. Ogonowski, of Schenectady, chairman of the Kosciuszko Saratoga Battlefield Memorial Committee reports that at last $50,000 will be raised for a suitable sesquicentennial memorial to the memory of the great Polish general and engineer. A temporary marker will be erected on the Battlefield until the permanent memorial is completed and erected.

About 300 descendants of Mrs. and Mrs. John Brees on August 16, 1930, erected a granite monument to the memory of the first white settlers at Horseheads, N. Y., who located there as pioneers in 1789. William H. Arnold, President of the Chemung County Historical Society, delivered the historical address. A full account of the ceremony was given in the Elmira *Telegram* of August 17, 1930.

With appropriate historic ceremonies, Governor and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt opened the Mid-Hudson Bridge at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., on August 25, 1930—one of the notable achievements of the year.

ANNIVERSARIES AND CELEBRATIONS

The bicentennial of the birth of Baron Steuben was observed in various parts of the State on September 17, 1930, and much information about him was printed in the newspapers and magazines.

The largest throng in its history gathered at the Auriesville shrine Sunday, August 17, 1930, to celebrate the canonization of the three martyrs of the Mohawk, St. Isaac Jogues, St. Rene Goupil and St. John LeLande, who sacrificed their lives in spreading the gospel of Christ in a wild, savage land, and were elevated to the sainthood of the Catholic church by Pope Pius at St. Peter's cathedral, Rome, on June 29. The supreme pontiff had a personal

representative at Sunday's ceremonies, the Rev. Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, apostolic delegate to Washington. A number of other high dignitaries of the church participated in the solemn and colorful services in honor of the new saints. There were bishops, monsignors, black robed Jesuits, brown garbed Franciscans and a number of priests of the Albany diocese in attendance. Canada, where five other intrepid sons of the church canonized with the Auriesville trio, also gained the martyr crowns, was represented by Bishop Morrison of Nova Scotia. There was even a group of Indians present, wearing regalia, feathers and all. They were descendants of those red skins who put Father Jogues and his companions to death.

The proposal made by Mohawk Valley citizens to construct a 40 mile historic highway from Herkimer to Baron Steuben's grave and then on to the Boonville Gorge is receiving wide commendation. The Governor will be asked to name a commission to survey the proposal and report.

The Fort Plain *Standard* for October 2, 1930, gave a full account of the plans for observance of the sesquicentennial of the battles of Klock's Field and of Stone Arabia which extended from October 17 to 19. The Schoharie Valley joined in the observances.

On October 17, wreaths were laid on the graves of Peter Vrooman and Timothy Murphy and a pilgrimage was made to historic places. On October 19 addresses were made at the Old Dutch Reformed Church at Stone Arabia by Dr. Andrew Dillenbeck and at the Old Dutch Reformed Church in Middleburg by Judge Dow Beekman.

The *Enterprise and News* of St. Johnsville continued during the summer and fall of 1930 the histories of the Hess, Ehle, Frank, Piper, Hagadorn, Fox, Davy, Timmerman, Wood, Concklin, Hammond, Wallace and other families. The activities of the Mohawk Valley Historic Association are related in full.

The State of Oklahoma is preparing to hold in 1932 the centennial of the first permanent settlement of North American Indians in that State. A commission has been appointed to carry out the proposed exposition. Governor Roosevelt has been invited to have New York State participate actively in the project.

A six week's program of an educational nature will be carried out in connection with the centennial.

On October 12, 1930, the 250th anniversary of the discovery of St. Anthony Falls was observed at Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. E. D. Bloom of Rochester, N. Y., has proposed marking the first mail route from New York City to Albany with appropriate markers.

New Brunswick, N. J., on October 12–15, 1930, observed the 250th anniversary of its founding. State Historian Flick represented the Empire State and gave an address. The fact was brought out by the observance that the Province of New Brunswick, Canada, was named after New Brunswick, N. J., by New Jersey Loyalists.

Alfred University is observing the centennial of its establishment by raising, under the direction of President Booth C. Davis, an endowment fund of $1,000,000.

The George Washington Bicentennial Commission has issued the *George Washington Bicentennial News* beginning with September, 1930 at $1 a year. In addition to information about plans for 1932 it will reprint articles and data from early newspapers and particularly from the *Alexandria Gazette* established in 1784.

The anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany was observed August 6, 1930, with music and a speaking program at the battlefield. The Rome *Sentinel* issued a special Mohawk Valley Historic Number which is replete with valuable articles and illustrations.

The recommendation of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt that New York's financial contribution to a World War Memorial and the Washington Bicentennial take the form of an impressive and useful Memorial Hall located at Albany has been approved by the commission and will be presented to the next Legislature. The Memorial will house the State Museum, the State Historical Collections, the office of the State Historian and contain a Public Records Office.

The Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association, 28 E. 20th St., New York City, has prepared a program for the observance of the

72d anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt, on October 27th.

Constitution week was observed on September 17, 1930, and model exercises were sent out over the country by the Constitution Education Association.

The town of Bedford, Westchester county, N. Y., on October 4, 1930, celebrated the 250th anniversary of its founding by purchase from the Indians on Bedford Green.

The dedication of Sacandaga Flow at the Conklinville Dam occurred on September 11, 1930.

In connection with the Washington Bicentennial, Hon. Sol Bloom, associate director of the commission has had printed his address on George Washington, delivered in the House on June 16, 1930.

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Columbia School of Political Science in 1880 was observed recently by a dinner in honor of Dean J. W. Burgess, now 86 years old.

The Centennial Celebration of the City of Utica 1932 is the title of a booklet issued by the Oneida Historical Society calling attention to the proposed civic observance year after next. Utica may be depended upon to make this commemoration dignified, impressive and educational.

COMMUNICATIONS

October 6th, 1930

Mr. Editor:

For your information, I beg to give you the following, regarding activities of the Niagara Falls Historical Society:

We have secured rooms in the Edward Dean Adams Plant No. 2, of the Niagara Falls Power Company, for the Historical Society, and a committee was appointed to transfer all of the records to the new rooms.

Edward Dean Adams, who, as you know, was largely interested in the early development of the Niagara Falls Power Company, has given to the Historical Society a valuable collection of records covering the early history of the Niagara Frontier and the power development. The records have been classified, and it is planned to have a formal opening on October 20th, to which the public will be invited.

It is planned to have an attendant present during each afternoon, for the purpose of admitting school children particularly.

Yours very truly
FRANK A. DUDLEY
President

Mr. Editor:

For many years the Library of Congress at Washington has served as the national repository for historic papers, presidential manuscripts and similar material, and is in consequence becoming the outstanding research center for students of early American history.

No effort, however, has been made to record on a national scale the material aspects of our past. Costumes, furniture, utensils, and so forth can well be exhibited in private and local museums, and the preservation of historical monuments may be left to the care of community pride. But for the purposes of general study of our ancestral architecture, especially of such examples as are doomed to disappear, there is urgent need for a repository where photographic records from the whole United States may be assembled.

For widest service these records should consist not only of prints, to be studied on the spot, but of negatives from which prints may be supplied to those desiring them throughout the country. The archives should consist, therefore, of three parts: a collection of negatives, as all-embracing as possible; complete folio files of prints from these negatives, for consultation; and very full indices, topographic, chronologic and by subject, so that desired matter may be readily located.

For administration there should be a secretary to attend to indexing and filing, to answering inquiries and general correspondence; and a photo-mechanic to provide expert care for the negatives and to prepare whatever prints may be desired.

The Library of Congress is apparently the only national institution which can logically undertake this work; we are therefore establishing a subdivision of the Division of Fine Arts to serve as national Pictorial Archives of Early American Architecture. Gifts of some five thousand professional or semi-professional negatives have already been received or promised. By a grant from the Carnegie Corporation these are now being catalogued, and an extensive catalogue is also being prepared of illustrative material which has appeared in books and magazines.

We now turn to the public who may use these archives, to solicit other negatives.

Negatives of all sizes will be welcome; small negatives, if clear, make good enlargements, and many buildings now destroyed or hidden away are recorded only in amateur snapshots.

All negatives given to us will be carefully indexed, with the name of the photographer and donor permanently recorded, and prints

may be had from them as readily as if they were in the original owner's files. Or negatives may be bequeathed and deposited with us with the stipulation that, though indexed and available for study in our folios of prints, they shall still remain under the owner's control during his lifetime, and no prints be furnished to others without his consent.

Our immediate request is not only for negatives of early American architecture to be preserved in perpetuity as national records, but that friends who have collections of negatives be informed of the Library's undertaking, or that the Library be informed of such collections.

Eventually we hope for funds with which to purchase professional collections and undertake pictorial surveys of districts not yet properly photographed. But such funds will necessarily be contingent upon the general preliminary response to this undertaking.

LEICESTER B. HOLLAND
Chief, Division of Fine Arts

The Public Library of Toronto, September 12, 1930.

Mr. Editor:

I wish I could attend your historical meeting. It looks like a very interesting programme.

I wonder if some of your members would not be interested to know that I have acquired the battle flags of the "Queen's Rangers, First Americans" who fought throughout the Revolutionary War on the British side, and who were recruited from New York, Connecticut, etc., and who were perhaps the lineal descendants of the Rogers' Rangers of the Seven Years War. These, I believe, are among the oldest Colours in America, having been through the Revolutionary War—successfully.

Yours very truly
GEORGE H. LOCKE

Owego, New York, Oct. 6, 1930.

Mr. Editor:

In the July 1930 QUARTERLY JOURNAL, p. 251, Mrs. Luckhurst says the Narrative of Mrs. Jane Whittaker has never been published.

The Narrative of her Captivity was printed in full in 1853 in the June, July and September numbers of the magazine, "St Nicholas," printed by the Owego Gazette press.

It is part of the series of articles entitled, "The Susquehanna Valley, Gleanings from its Indian and Pioneer History," by Judge Charles P. Avery of Owego. In the June 1853 number, Judge Avery states as introduction, "Mrs. Whittaker, a lady whose narrative the writer of this has in manuscript (it never having been published) speaks with much minuteness of Brant whom she saw at Fort Niagara in the latter part of the Summer of 1788."

The "St. Nicholas," ended with the March 1854 number which contained the last of Judge Avery's paper.

I know, at this date, of but six bound or full copies. One of them was given by the late Dr. Patterson of Newark Valley to the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, Connecticut; five bound copies are privately owned; the Tioga County Historical Society owns several odd numbers in original covers. I have tried, in vain, to complete the series.

Beside Judge Avery, contributions were made to "St. Nicholas" by Thomas C. Platt and by Charles Munger, at that time a young attorney in Owego. Nearly all copies of the magazine were destroyed by fire in the Gazette building. Judge Avery's material is the foundation for the facts later included in the Histories of Tioga County.

Yours very truly
(Mrs. Gershom W.) Etta M. Arnold Clark

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Madison, October 20, 1930.

Mr. Editor:

One of our research workers calls our attention to the July number of your Journal in which is published the "Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Jane Whittaker." The original interview, just as Judge A. C. Avery wrote it down, is in the Draper Mss. 17F23–46, also the two letters of Minor Strope. We have also a third letter from Strope, Aug. 4, 1855 (17F52) and a letter (17F55) from Oliver Whitaker [so he spells the name], dated Toulon, Ill., Nov. 25, 1872 with a sketch of his mother's life. The Whitaker narrative and the Minor Strope letters form part of the Avery Collection, purchased by Draper from Mrs. Avery in 1875. The Whitaker letters were written to Draper at the latter's request.

We also note in the same number of the Journal the "Lost Story of the Brodhead Expedition." Apparently the author has not seen the documents on that expedition, largely from the Draper Mss., published in Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio," vol. xxiv of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. The Indian story is there published as told by Chief Blacksnake to Draper.

Thinking this information would be interesting to your readers as well as to you, I remain

Yours very truly
Joseph Schafer

A Valuable Gift

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, Chief American History Division, New York Public Library, one of our most scholarly and best known

members has donated to the Association for its Headquarters House a unique and original document relating to the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775. The report and copy of a letter to the Governor of Connecticut is printed below:

We do report

That we conceive it will be proper to Appoint Persons In whom this Congress Can Confide, to Superintend the Removal of the Cannon and Stores mentioned in the minute of the Grand Continental Congress to the South end of Lake George.

that it will be proper to furnish Supplies of provisions to the Garrison Now Stationed or hereafter to be Stationed at those places

that it will proper to appoint a Committee to Estimate the expence of this Service &c Committee to Consider of was and mean for providing monies for the purpose of Defraying the Same— & Lastly

that it will be proper to Write a letter to the Governor & Company of the english Colony of Conecticut on the matters recommanded in the minute aforesaid

We have taken the liberty to frame a Draft of the letter above mentioned Which we also report and pray Leave most humbly to Submit to this Congress—

To the honourable the Govenour &
Company of the english colony of
Connecticut Brethren

by a minute of the Grand Continental Congress of the 10^{h} of may 1775. a coppy of Which we do herewith transmit to you. We are informed that ticonderoga hath been taken by Sundry inhabitants of the Northren colonies & from this minute af^{d}. We are assured that this measure Was for the Common Safety of the american Colonies In pursuance of the directions contained in that minute We have Given the Necessary orders for removing the Cannon and Store taken at that Important fortress to the South end of Lake George & for securing them and we have appointed Mess. .—

Superintendants of this Buisness

there is no doubt but that our brother in Conecticut Will feel great reluctance at the Idea of ordering away of their Troops to march Within the bounds of this Colony for the purpose of De-

fending this fort of ticondoroga and the Common Stores above mentioned at fort George. But pray you to Cast away all fears of offending us on this occasion We shall be Happy to hear that you have placed a part of your forces in those forts With intend to Defend them Untill they Shall be Delivered by troops from this Colony

In further pursuance of the Directions of the Grand Congress we have ordered provisions to Be Conveyed to ticondoroga & Lake George and We shall Continue to furnish Just Supplies as we Shall deem necassary.

You will be pleased Gentlemen to appoint trusty Command in over your forces destined for the purpose above mentioned and we do assure you of our willingness that they shall take Command of those places which Garrisoned by your troops

We beg leave to assure you that in this and all other matters We will pay the highest attention to every recommandation of the Grand Continential Congress and that we have the honour to be.
Coppy of Letter Send
To the Govenour of Connectic[t]

NOTE—List of Members Corrected to December 31, 1930.

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Jennings, John Arthur	30 Strathallan Park, Rochester
Jervis Library	Rome
JEWETT, RUTGER BLEECKER	49 E. 49th St., New York
John, August, Jr.	35 N. Ferry St., Schenectady
Johnson, Mrs. C. K.	311 S. Union St., Burlington, Vt.
Johnson, Henry, M.A.	35 Knollwood Ave., Mamaroneck
Johnson, G. L.	Booth Ave., Englewood, N. J.
Johnson, Mrs. G. L.	Booth Ave., Englewood, N. J.
Johnson, U. Stephen	12 Massasoit St., Northampton, Mass.
Johnston, Allen W.	500 State St., Schenectady
Johnston, Charles L., M.D.	R. D. 2, Wallkill
Johnston, Mrs. Dorothy Honeywell	58 Paris Road, New Hartford
Johnston, Harry F.	59 Monroe Drive, Williamsville
Johnston, J. Herbert	18 Washington Sq., New York
Johnstown Historical Society	Johnstown
Jones, Edward T.	10 Church St., Greenwich
JONES, Mrs. JOSEPH T.	267 North St., Buffalo
JONES, Mrs. OLIVER LIVINGSTON	Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island
Jones, Russell C.	22 Elm Rock Road, Bronxville
Jones, Sydney T.	520 Broadway, Albany
Jopling, Frederic W.	207 Cottingham St., Toronto, Ont.
Juckett, Frank A.	c/o Old Colony Envelope Co., Westfield, Mass.
Judson, Cyrus Field	Ardsley-on-Hudson
Junkersfeld, Mrs. P.	3 Berkeley Road, Scarsdale
Karadimas, Thomas A.	Ticonderoga
Kauffman, Dr. Lesser	584 W. Ferry St., Buffalo
Keefe, Frederick H.	40 Grand St., Newburgh
KELLER, Mrs. DELIGHT E. R.	Fairfield Road, Little Falls
Kellogg, Edward L., M.D.	48 West 51st St., New York
Kelly, Walter H.	216 Market St., Amsterdam
Kelly, William H., Jr.	616 Delaware Ave., Albany
KEMBLE, GOUVERNEUR	Cold Spring
Kendall, Messmore	Dobbs Ferry
KENDRICK, Mrs. ABBIE WASHBURN	19 Marion Place, Saratoga Springs
KENDRICK, ASHLEY W.	19 Marion Place, Saratoga Springs
Kernan, Mrs. Francis K.	324 Genesee St., Utica
Kernan, Warnick J.	Utica
Ketchum, George F.	2 Oakland Ave., Warwick
Kieb, Raymond F. C., M.D.	Box 236, Beacon
Kievit, Basil	333 Livingston Ave., Albany
Kiggins, Charles B.	The Kasson, James St., Syracuse
Kiley, Hon, James S.	Colvin Building, Glens Falls
Kilpatrick, Wm. H., LL.D., Litt.D.	Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York
Kilroe, Edwin Patrick, Ph.D.	408 Manhattan Ave., New York

Kimball, LeRoy E.	New York Univ., Washington Sq. E., New York
Kincaid, William Wallace	Youngstown
King, Charles F.	Glens Falls
King Manor Assn.	Jamaica, L. I.
King, Milo S.	Fort Ticonderoga
Kings Co. Historical Society, Inc.	60 Amersfort Pl., Brooklyn
Kingston City Library	Kingston
Kirk, Miss Belle MacCrea	Sterling
Kirley, Mrs. Cyril P.	59 Easton St., Lowville
Klein, Mrs. John	Hawthorne, Westchester Co.
Kleinfeld, Hon. Philip M.	285 Madison Ave., New York
Kline, Mrs. William J.	Amsterdam
Klock, Percy L.	Singer Bldg., 149 Broadway, New York
Knapp, Hon. Clyde W.	Lyons
KNAPP, EDWARD	347 Madison Ave., New York
KNAPP, GEORGE O.	Shelving Rock
Knauth, Mrs. Else	322 Albany Ave., Kingston
KNICKERBACKER, JOHN	86 First St., Troy
Knight, Alfred	699 Washington St., New York
KNOX, Mrs. CHARLES B.	104 Second Ave., Johnstown
Knox, James E.	601 So. William St., Johnstown
Konwiser, Harry M.	12 Morris St., Yonkers
Kramer, Mrs. Samuel J.	395 Washington Ave., Pelham
Krout, Prof. John A.	10 Fountain Terrace, Scarsdale
Kunz, George F., Ph.D., Sc.D.	405 Fifth Ave., New York
Kuper, William H.	125 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn
Lamb, Mrs. George E.	308 Pearl St., Burlington, Vt.
La Motte, Miss Ellen N.	Stone Ridge, Ulster Co.
Landon, Robert J.	736 Union St., Schenectady
Lane, David Frederick	623 Boyd St., Watertown
Laney, John I.	208 Washington St., Buffalo
Langdon, Miss Amanda	453 King Ave., New York
Lange, Gustav, Jr.	17 John St., New York
Langley, Frank T.	117 Woodland Ave., Schenectady
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Larkin, Orrel Town	Plattsburg
Larrowe, Mrs. Katherine Morgan	Cohocton, Steuben Co.
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LaWall, John D.	94 North Parkway, Rochester
LAWLER, Miss MARY E.	Hudson Falls
Lee, Algernon	43 Fifth Ave., New York
LEE, THOMAS F.	6 Heathcote Road, Scarsdale
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Leffingwell, William M.	Watkins Glen
Lenz, George, M.D.	68 Bleecker St., Gloversville
LEON, MAURICE	Goody's Hill, Irvington-on-Hudson
Leonard, Edgar Cotrell	Westport, Conn.
Leonard, Walter A., M.D.	Cambridge
LeRoy, Miss Ida C.	23 Farrington St., Newburgh
Lesan, H. E.	Eton Road, Scarsdale
Lester, General James W.	Saratoga Springs
Lewis County Historical Society	Lowville
LEWIS, Mrs. GEORGE H.	656 Seventh St., Buffalo
Lewis, Leon Ray	Hudson Falls
LEWIS, LORAN L., Jr.	Roycroft Inn, East Aurora
Lewisohn, Adolph	61 Broadway, New York

Liddle, Henry S., M.D.	212 Union St., Schenectady
Limeburner, Mrs. Carrie R.	58 Noxon St., Poughkeepsie
Lindenmeyr, Fritz	135 East 74th St., New York
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Lippincott, Arthur H.	2 East 70th St., New York
Lippitt, Moses E.	Cooperstown
Lithgow, David C.	32 North Pearl St., Albany
Livingston, Philip	20 East 80th St., New York
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Locke, Mrs. Alice G.	58 Noxon St., Poughkeepsie
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Locke, Franklin T.	Ticonderoga
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Lockwood, Roy	Ticonderoga
Long Island Historical Society	Pierrepont & Clinton Sts., Brooklyn
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Lord, Chester S., LL.D.	57 So. Portland Ave., Brooklyn
Lovejoy, J. R.	Schenectady
Lovejoy, Major Clarence E.	Apt. 73, 39 Claremont Ave., New York
Low, Will H., N. A.	Lawrence Park, Bronxville
Luckhurst, Mrs. Charlotte T.	154 Western Ave., Albany
Ludlow, Henry S.	Saratoga Springs
Ludlum, Clarence A.	162–27 Highland Ave., Jamaica
Lumsden, Miss Isabelle M.	Ticonderoga
Luquer, Col. Thatcher T. P.	Bedford Hills
Lutes, Miss Lillian Cronise	922 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lux, Mrs. Charles A.	813 Onondaga Circle, Syracuse
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Maar, Mrs. Maria Peterson	538 Morris St., Albany
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Macdonald, George Alexander	124 East 92nd St., New York
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Mace, Prof. William H.	1205 Harrison St., Syracuse
MacFarland, Hon. Stewart	Glens Falls
Mackay, Mrs. James	628 Nelson Ave., Peekskill
MacKenzie, Mrs. Luella Woods	Moulton, Iowa
MacMillan, Newman A.	185 Ridge St., Glens Falls
MacWethy, Lou D.	St. Johnsville
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Maher, John L.	New Hartford
Mairs, Mrs. Edwin H.	Irvington-on-Hudson
Mallett, Percy S.	108 Ninth St., Garden City
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Manchester, Paul R.	Granville
Mancuso, Hon. Francis X., LL.D.	164 East 111th St., New York
Mandeville, Hubert C., L.H.D.	Robinson Building, Elmira
Manhattan College	3260 Broadway, New York
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Manning, William H.	Saratoga Spa.
Mannix, Arthur P.	Lake George
Marsellus, John	306 Highland Ave., Syracuse
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Marsh, Mrs. Charles T.	1010 Grant Ave., Rockford, Ill.
Marsh, Homer P., M.D.	R. D. 1, Bernhards Bay
Marshall, Charles A.	Saratoga Springs
Marshall, Mrs. J. P.	305 W. 87th St., New York
Martin, Alexander	Lima, Livingston Co.

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Martin, Roscoe B.	Forestville
Massachusetts State Library	State House, Boston, Mass.
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Matthews, P. B.	Bridgehampton, Suffolk Co.
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McAneny, Hon. George	120 East 75th St., New York
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McCord, Robert	1011 Park St., Peekskill
McCormick, Joseph H.	133 Elderwood Ave., Pelham
McCreery, B. F.	151 Ridge St., Glens Falls
McDonald, Donald	993 Park Ave., New York
McDonald, Frank T.	Ticonderoga
McGraw, Francis A.	P. O. Box 352, Lima
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McKee, James	Richfield Springs
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McLean, C. M.	3 Chestnut St., Binghamton
McLean, Marshall, A. M.	350 Madison Ave., New York
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McNaught, Hon. Andrew J.	Stamford
McPhillips, Hon. James	Glens Falls
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Meloney, Mrs. William Brown	Herald Tribune Magazine, 225 West 40th St., New York
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Menges, Mrs. Frederick	136 Circular St., Saratoga Springs
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Meredith, Miss Mary A.	526 Ostrom Ave., Syracuse
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Merritt, Edward L.	36 Warren St., Kingston
MERRITT, JESSE	Farmingdale, Nassau Co.
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MESSER, MRS. L. F.	201 Linwood Ave., Buffalo
METCALF, Mrs. F. M.	401 The Olbiston, Utica
Meyer, Mrs. Alfred	1225 Park Ave., New York
Meyer, Blakeman Quintard	Rye
Michael, Edward	741 Delaware Ave., Buffalo
Michigan State Library	Lansing, Mich.
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Miller, P. Schuyler, B.S.	302 So. Ten Broeck St., Scotia
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Milton, J. E.	Brewerton
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Mitchell, Byron M.	622 James St., Syracuse

Mitchell, Charles A.	459 Exchange St., Geneva
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Molyneux, Mrs. Robert A.	1622 So. Salina St., Syracuse
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Montgomery, William Robert	676 Esplanade Ave., Pelham Manor
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Moody, Mrs. W. H.	163 Circular St., Saratoga Springs
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Moore, Jonathan	Ticonderoga
Moore, Mrs. Jonathan	Ticonderoga
Moore, Mrs. Mary Atwell	c/o Katherine Gibbs School, 247 Park Ave., New York
Moore, Thomas H.	Ticonderoga
Moot, Mrs. Adelbert	358 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo
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Morris, John H.	135 Lake Ave., Saratoga Springs
Morris, Miss Marguerite J.	150 Noble St., Brooklyn
Morris, Richard B., Ph.D.	1795 Riverside Drive, New York
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Moses, Mrs. Frank	Ticonderoga
Moses, Harvey H.	P. O. Box T., Springfield, Mass.
MOSES, HORACE A.	55 Riverview Terrace, Springfield, Mass.
Mosher, Clarence W.	169 Bay St., Glens Falls
Moss, Nelson A.	32 Grant Ave., Glens Falls
Mott, Hon. John T.	Oswego
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Mudge, Alden A.	Afton
Munger, H. G.	Herkimer
Murdock, Ralph E.	Crown Point
Murray, C. B.	Lyon Mountain
Murray, George Welwood	15 Broad St., New York
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Muzzey, Prof. David S.	Columbia University, New York
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Myers, William M.	Van Tassel Apts., N. Tarrytown
Nadeau, Mrs. Albert A.	Fort Ticonderoga
Nelms, Homer L., M.D.	28 Eagle St., Albany
Nelson, Peter, A.M.	Education Bldg., Albany
Nelson, Ven. Dr. Geo. F.	416 LaFayette St., New York
Nevins, Allan	Columbia University, New York
Newberry Library	60 W. Walton Place, Chicago, Ill.
Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, Historical Society of	Newburgh
New Century Club, Gov't and History Dept.	253 Genesee St., Utica
Newell, Hon. W. Allan	415 Caroline St., Ogdensburg
Newell, Rev. Wilbur C.	20 Essex St., Amsterdam
Newland, David H.	94 Menand Road, Albany
New York Public Library	456 5th Ave., New York
New York University, Washington Sq. Library	100 Washington Sq. East, New York
Nichols, Acosta	25 Broad St., New York
Nichols, Ada F.	301 Elm St., Fayetteville
Nichols, Edgar B.	76 Mohawk St., Cohoes
Nichols, Herbert B.	75 White Oak St., New Rochelle
Nichols, L. Nelson	181 Claremont Ave., New York

Nichols, Rev. Robert Hastings, Ph.D	10 Nelson St., Auburn
NICKERSON, HOFFMAN	37 West 52nd St., New York
Noble, Clarence A.	97 High St., Hoosick Falls
Nolan, Michael D.	Times Building, Troy
Northrup, Mrs. William Phelps	80 Jewett Parkway, Buffalo
Northwestern University Library	Evanston, Ill.
Ochs, Adolph S., M.A.	c/o New York Times, New York
O'Connor, George E.	Waterford
OCUMPAUGH, HERBERT E.	1339 East Ave., Rochester
Ogden Free Library	Walton
Ohman, Karl A.	Van Schaick Mansion, Cohoes
Olean Public Library	Olean
Oneida Historical Society	Utica
O'Neill, Louis F.	467 Broadway, Albany
Oneonta Normal School	Oneonta
Oppenheim, Mrs. Monroe	Fort Edward
Orr, Walter S.	Orr's Mills, Cornwall
O'Ryan, Major General John F.	270 Madison Ave., New York
Orvis, Edwin W.	205 West 89th St., New York
Osborn, H. Frank	Red Coach Inn, Niagara Falls
Osborne, Charles D.	34 Dill St., Auburn
Osborne, Mrs. Edwin	Warrensburg
Owen, Clifford A.	22 Lenox Place, Middletown
Owen, Hon. Harry E.	Port Henry
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Paine, Mrs. Silas H.	Silver Bay
Palmatier, Herbert A.	Indian Lake
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Palmyra Historical Society	S. D. Van Alstine, 338 Grand St., Rochester
Paltsits, Hon. Victor H.	48 Whitson St., Forest Hills Gardens, L. I.
Paradis, Adrian	148 Beach 142nd St., Neponsit, Far Rockaway, Queens Co.
Parcells, Mrs. Frank Howland	409 Park Place, Brooklyn
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Paris, Mrs. Preston	Hudson Falls
PARISH, HENRY	48 Wall St., New York
PARKER, Mrs. ALTON BROOKS	Esopus
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Parker, Grace Sherwood	456 Westcott St., Syracuse
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Parry, Edward H.	Glens Falls
Parsons, William Barclay, D.Eng.	84 Pine St., New York
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Payson, William Farquhar	598 Madison Ave., New York
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Pearse, Miss Adelede	1140 Baker Ave., Schenectady

Peck, Darius E.	1374 Lowell Road, Schenectady
Peck, Jerome A.	29 South Main St., Port Chester
Peckham, Dr. A. L.	17 Adriance Ave., Poughkeepsie
Peckham, Harriett Van Buren, M.D.	698 Park Place, Brooklyn
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Pedersen, James, M.D.	40 East 61st St., New York
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Pell, Robert Thompson	16 East 43rd St., New York
Pell, Stephen H. P.	16 E. 43rd St., New York
Pell, Mrs. Stephen H. P.	16 East 43rd St., New York
Pellett, LeGrand W.	60 LeRoy Place, Newburgh
Penfield, Miss Lida S.	74 West 5th St., Oswego
Pennsylvania, Historical Society of	1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pennypacker, F. Knox Morton	Kew Arms, Kew Gardens, L. I.
Perry, L. F.	709 Myrtle Ave., Albany
Perkins, Dexter, Ph.D.	University of Rochester, Rochester
Peters, Charles V.	Glens Falls
Peterson, Arthur Everett, Ph.D.	Evander Childs High School, 184th St., New York
Philip Livingston Chapter, Sons of the Revolution	109 So. Manning Blvd., Albany
Phillips, J. Raymond	806 Park Ave., Albany
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PITCHER, DWIGHT COPLEY	15 Faxton St., Utica
Plattsburg Normal School	Plattsburg
Plattsburg Public Library	Plattsburg
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Pound, Arthur	Slingerlands
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PRATT, HERBERT L.	26 Broadway, New York
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Pratt, Wilfred T.	22 Fox Meadow Road, Scarsdale
Pratt Institute Free Library	Ryerson St., Brooklyn
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Putnam, Mrs. George H.	1 Sutton Place South, New York
Putnam Co. Historical Society	Cold Spring
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Pyrke, Hon. Berne A.	Port Henry

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Redmond Johnston Livingston	Tivoli
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Reed, George E.	Carmel
Reed, Horace	94 Oakland Place, Buffalo
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Reid, Mrs. Wm. B.	W. Embargo St., Rome
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Reynolds, Henry S.	4642 Kahala Ave., Honolulu, T. H.
Reynolds, V. Rev. Fidelis	248 Harvard Ave., Rockville Centre
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Rich, Hon. Adelbert P.	Auburn
Richards, Frederick B.	Glens Falls
Richards, Mrs. Orson C.	Hudson Falls
Richards, William L.	19 Sheridan St., Glens Falls
Richardson, Frederick B.	18 Guion St., New Rochelle
Richardson, Rev. George L., D.D.	68 South Swan St., Albany
Richardson, Mrs. Mary Robbins	185 Washington St., Saratoga Springs
Richfield Springs Public Library	Richfield Springs
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Riley, Philip J.	Hudson Falls
Rinehart, Alan G.	244 Madison Ave., New York
Rising, Henry	Ticonderoga
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Robbins, E. B.	9 Harrison Ave., Glens Falls
Robbins, V. Rev. Howard Chandler, D.D.	Sneden's Landing, Palisades, Rockland Co.
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Robinson, Albert G.	Glens Falls
Robinson, Mrs. Douglas	Mohawk
Robinson, Kenneth Balch	204 Garfield Ave., Endicott
Robinson, Theodore Douglas	Mohawk
Robinson, Mrs. Theodore Douglas	Mohawk
Robison, Hanford	322 State St., Schenectady
Roche, Mrs. Spencer Summerfield	29 Hilton Ave., Garden City, L. I.
Rochester Colony, Nat. Society New England Women	1953 Lewiston Ave., Rochester
Rochester Historical Society	Exposition Park, Rochester
Rochester Public Library, Central Library	54 Court St., Rochester
Rockefeller, Henry O., M.D.	125 Warwick St., Brooklyn
Rockwood, Hon. Nash	Saratoga

Rodgers, Henry D.	150 S. Pine Ave., Albany
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ROGERS, THEODORE L.	550 Gansevoort St., Little Falls
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Roosevelt, Ralph M.	1707 Graybar Bldg., New York
Roosevelt, Hon. Theodore	"Council Rock," Oyster Bay, L. I.
Root, Edward W.	Hamilton College, Clinton
Ros, Salvador E.	17 Battery Place, New York
Rosch, Hon. Joseph	601 D. & H. Bldg., Albany
Ross, Charles L.	Ticonderoga
Ross, Rev. William Neely, D.D.	32 Tallman Place, Nyack
Rossetter, Asher	Bellerose, Queens P. O., N. Y.
Rowe, Erasmus B.	32 Highland Cross, Rutherford, N. J.
Rowe, Franklin A.	Glens Falls
ROWE, LOUIS CASS	55 West 6th St., Oswego
Rowse, Edward F.	8846 Ft. Hamilton Pkwy, Brooklyn
Royce, Mrs. Caroline H.	Westport
Runkle, Delmer	Lock Drawer B, Hoosick Falls
Runkle, Mrs. Delmer	96 Classic St., Hoosick Falls
Russell, Charles W.	803 Onondaga Ave., Syracuse
Russell, J. Ward	15 Hunter St., Glens Falls
Russell, Howard	Ticonderoga
Ryder, Clayton	Carmel
Sabourin, Edward E.	255 Main St., Hudson Falls
Sachs, Julius, Ph.D.	The Belnord, 225 West 86th St., New York
Sammons, Mrs. Thomas	Canajoharie
Sanders, Mrs. Louis Peck	1104 W. Broadway, Butte, Mont.
Saratoga, Historical Society of	c/o Miss E. M. Barrett, The Saratogian, Saratoga Springs
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